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MORE TCHAIKOVSKY-VON MECK CORRESPONDENCE

By OLGA BENNIGSEN

A FANTASIA around the friendship of Mme. von Meck and Tchaikovsky has enjoyed a real vogue in the United States, becoming even the subject of a competition among readers. We are not concerned with a detailed criticism of the book, but only wish to point out some of the fallacies that detract from its value, both as a human document and as a psychological study of two strange personalities. The book was written before the important third volume of the *Correspondence*, covering the years 1882-1890 had come out; the two earlier volumes (1876-1882) and the unreliable, because biased, biography by Modeste Tchaikovsky were inadequate data upon which to build up a book. Moreover, the writers seem to have made light of the supplements with their extensive and betimes maliciously selected passages from Tchaikovsky's letters to his brothers. Only a collation of these letters with those written to Mme. von Meck may give a true insight into the artist's complex mentality—morbid, introspective, selfish—, with its extremes of secretiveness and unexpected fits of self-condemnation and remorse. To the neglect of these supplements and a naïve trust in Modeste's word is due the authors' partiality: invariably Tchaikovsky

enjoys the benefit of the doubt, severely denied to his patroness. Throughout the book the writers waver between sober fact and dizzy fiction; in the concluding chapter, to which we shall return, their hesitations are over, and they plunge into fiction with unrestrained gusto. More's the pity! for the time-honored adage: "truth is stranger than fiction", holds good in this case, too.

In *The Musical Quarterly* (October 1936) we summarized the first two volumes of the letters; now we shall follow the vicissitudes of the friendship through the remaining eight years to its abrupt and inexplicable end, upon which we shall venture to give our own guess.

* * *

In the early eighties things continue much as they were: ecstatic admiration, verging upon idolatry on one side, on the other the customary wordy protestations of undying devotion, occasionally belied by the brotherly asides of the supplement. Inevitably, as the years pass, they bring many changes. Mme. von Meck is aging rapidly, her health, never robust, is declining, the family grows, and so do her cares and anxieties increase. The fortune is still considerable, but the reckless extravagance of her eldest son has impaired it. Later fortune-seeking sons-in-law squander their young wives' dowries; every year sees the birth of new grandchildren: necessarily Nadezhda Filaretovna has become more careful with her money. When her friend stays as her guest at Pleshcheevo, the small country place near Moscow, and in her new town house, it is not the princely hospitality of Brailov in the Ukraine or of the old "fifty-rooms" Moscow mansion. Nor are there any more invitations to Florence and Paris. Her letters reflect her state of mind, the passionate outpourings of the first years have given way to calmer declarations.

The year 1884 sees the fulfilment of Nadezhda Filaretovna's dearest wish and carefully laid plans: Kolia, her second boy, barely out of his teens, marries Anna, Tchaikovsky's niece, whom her uncle had praised extravagantly. "Anna conceited?" he exclaims in one letter, "I deny this . . . She has the noble pride of the elect . . . self-pride, not conceit." With an engaging humility Mme. von Meck voices her misgivings: from afar Anna manifests much affection; will it stand the test of personal acquaintance? "She will be disappointed . . . I am unattractive, unfeminine . . . not affectionate," also she reveals her physical dis-

ability—she is somewhat deaf, and this renders her society irksome and fatiguing.

The marriage takes place, though, true to her fads, Nadezhda Filaretovna is absent: indeed, she never has met, nor ever will meet, Anna's parents. Her delight is short-lived. The paragon turns out to be a conceited and spoilt little prig who views all the Mecks with undisguised contempt. Her uncle is uneasy: he championed the match, and now fears his benefactress' wrath. His perennial dread is to incur her displeasure, material dependence and patronage are fraught with much anxiety and discomfort, a price that has to be paid. At that time Tchaikovsky might easily have regained his moral freedom: he had achieved a lasting success, his position, present and future, was secure, but . . . he loved comfort, luxury, travelling whenever the spirit prompted him; Modeste drew upon him, also other members of his family. Mme. von Meck was always there like a bank-account to fall back on when need arose. If we seem to stress unduly this sordid aspect of the relations, it is because it looms only too large throughout those thirteen years, and the reference to the "budget sum" recurs with an unpleasant frequency up to the very eve of the rupture. The verbiage which cloaks the crudity of this material dependence fails to conceal the composer's surprising lack of delicacy and self-respect. In the case of his niece, Tchaikovsky plays for safety and throws Anna to the wolves, so to say. Cautiously he laments her unhappy influence over Kolia, criticizes her, conveniently oblivious of his former eulogies. Mme. von Meck's comments are very outspoken; but if, at the bottom of her heart, she nurses a grievance against her "precious", albeit over-officious, friend, she never shows it, and eventually the birth of a baby reconciles her to Anna.

Nadezhda Filaretovna's star is setting, while Tchaikovsky's is shining brightly: he is the most popular composer in Russia. Borodin, Mousorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, may be for the discerning few; but the Czar and his court smile upon Tchaikovsky. Even abroad his concert-tours are attended with considerable success, and conversely a subtle change comes upon him: his letters become less verbose, even with his brothers he is now more reticent, less prone to bare the secret recesses of his troubled soul. Though these are years of prolific composition, references to music in this volume, however frequent, are casual: he may be "writing his *Trio*", or composing church-music, or one of the operas for the writing of which he has so fatal an inclination, in spite of candid critics who say that his real domain is not opera but symphony. Who

remembers nowadays those *Mazeppas*, *Maids of Orleans*, *Enchantresses*, etc., at which he labors with such love, enthusiasm, and so many rosy hopes? Only *Evgueny Onyegin* and the *Queen of Spades* have survived and still enjoy a certain success among Russians. Tchaikovsky is staunchly faithful to all his old likes and dislikes: Mozart, some Frenchmen are firmly-established favorites, but Wagner, Brahms and "modern" Germans in general are mercilessly dissected. In 1882, in Berlin, he hears *Tristan und Isolde* and cries out in indignation: "To compel us to listen for four consecutive hours to an endless symphony fraught with rich orchestral beauties but poor in clearly and simply enunciated ideas, to force artists to sing four hours not separate melodies, but just notes appended to the symphony and which, however high at times, are completely drowned by the thunders of the orchestra . . . This is not an ideal for modern artists to strive after. Wagner has transferred the action from the stage to the orchestra, and since this is an obvious absurdity, his famous reform of the opera . . . comes to naught. As to the dramatic interest, I consider all [his] operas insignificant, betimes childishly naïve, but never have I experienced such boredom as at *Tristan*. It is the dullest, emptiest rigmarole, devoid of any life, of movement, . . . incapable of arousing any interest and sympathy."

Mozart's operas are the high water mark of operatic art. Tchaikovsky looks forward eagerly to the *Marriage of Figaro* as an antidote to *Tristan* with its "complex music devoid of true art." Then, in one of his unaccountable outbursts of candor, he expresses his amazement that a man like himself "morally and intellectually unsound" can enjoy Mozart: "I seem to be doing a good deed when I listen to his music." Mme. von Meck does not respond to the Mozart-cult, but she echoes his dislike of Wagner, "a musical genius of the first magnitude", she admits so far, but whose innovations are just "pure charlatanism." His music irritates her nerves; of his operas she, the unregenerate realist, admires only the *Meistersinger* because of the "human subject": neither she nor Tchaikovsky have any sympathy for gods and legendary figures. With unconscious inconsistency she says that Wagner never "carries her away from earth" as do Tchaikovsky and Schumann.

Whenever Tchaikovsky discusses music, his real and all-absorbing interest, he is at his best. No matter that the place he now holds is no longer the one he held thirty years ago, no matter that his musical taste was not impeccable, that many of his compositions have been forgotten: within his limitations, he served art wholeheartedly and according to

(recto)

LEGATION IMPERIALE DE RUSSIE,

16 MAI, 1891.

TRIO, OP. 50 P. TSCHAIKOWSKY.

1. PEZZO ELEGIACO.

2. A, TEMA CON VARIAZIONI.

3. VARIAZIONE FINALE E CODA.

PREMIER QUATUOR, OP. 25 J. BRAHMS.

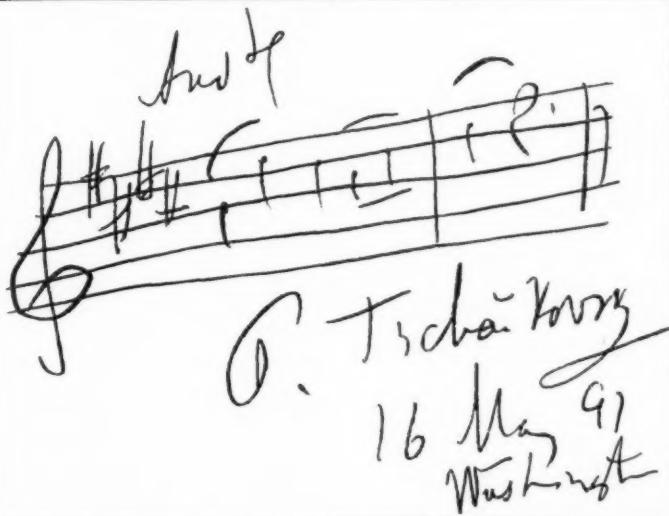
ALLEGRO.

INTERMEZZO.

ANDANTE CON MOTO.

RONDO ALLA ZINGARESE.

(verso)



Facsimile of the program card for the Musicale given at the Russian Legation on the occasion of Tchaikovsky's visit to Washington, with a quotation from the Trio in his handwriting.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.



his lights. When he speaks of his art (and possibly in his correspondence with brother-artists he shows to greater advantage), the neurotic, mawkish, boring Peter Ilyitch vanishes, to give way to another: the alert, earnest, interested musician whose integrity can but command our respect and admiration. His illusions concerning his own feebler compositions are nearly always short-lived, and he spares himself no criticism. In 1888, he is feverishly engaged upon his *Sleeping Beauty*; in the intervals his time is taken up with concerts and rehearsals. But in a letter of December 25th the artist is perturbed: the Moscow concerts were successful, but they have left a sad impression—"It has dawned upon me that my last symphony is a wash-out . . . And this failure (or is it the decline of my talent?) grieves me . . . The symphony is uneven, too massive, insincere, lengthy, in fact it is very unattractive. With the exception of Taneev who staunchly maintains that this *Fifth Symphony* is my masterpiece . . . friends have a poor opinion of it. Am I fizzing out? Is it the beginning of the end? That would indeed be awful . . . The future will show . . . still it is sad that the symphony of 1888 should be so inferior to that of 1877."

This is the Tchaikovsky we should like to remember; unfortunately he was a "house divided against itself", the *bourgeois* in him was in perpetual conflict with the artist, hence the duality, the discontent and unhappiness. The artist must be free, he cannot be a slave to outward things, his spirit brooks no fetters, no chains even of the purest gold: they would impede his flight, his inspiration. The *bourgeois* is tied to earth, is the slave of things material, the very antithesis of the artist; and this inward contradiction constitutes Tchaikovsky's tragedy which, in his moments of pitiless and lucid introspection, he realized. Mme. von Meck meant well by him, her influence was not pernicious; but was her material help, however generous and kind, a good thing? This is a question to which we vouchsafe no answer.

In February, 1887, Tchaikovsky asks her to give a violin, or the wherewithal to buy one, to a certain Litvinov. The motive of her refusal is characteristic: in the matter of gifts the initiative must be hers, "otherwise my fund of gifts would be exhausted." She has indeed given many instruments, but *only after* hearing the particular artist's performance; she knows nothing of this Litvinov, and is surprised that he should have addressed his request through Tchaikovsky. Would she have written thus ten years earlier? Does not this refusal hint at a change, scarcely perceptible as yet in her relations towards the "dearest friend" and his

demands? However, when at the end of the same year he requests a rather important sum to buy an estate, Mme. von Meck promptly offers to advance it. She is still, at times, prepared to "fall on her knees and weep" when her friend's music is played, and the mere suspicion of an estrangement on her part elicits a vehement protest: "On the contrary, with the passing of years and the sorrows and disappointments I experience, you are ever nearer and dearer to me." She consoles him over the lack of appreciation the public evinces for the *Enchantress*, which he imagines to be his masterpiece: "For *you* to be pained by the malice of a Petersburg rabble . . . You, a *sun*, whose musical rays illumine and warm poor mankind . . . I am enraptured by the mere thought of your music."

Early in 1888 he conducts a concert in Leipzig, the rehearsal of which is attended by Brahms; it is a triumph. In Russia, grand dukes court his friendship, and on New Year's day (1888) the Czar grants him an annuity for life. He hastens to inform his friend of this, but somehow his letter is waylaid, and in the meanwhile she writes him one which is interesting in that, for the first time, a sensitive ear seems to detect a note of suspicion. Danilchenko, her private 'cellist, told her that ever since the Coronation, five years earlier, Tchaikovsky had been in receipt of a pension as "court composer", but she hastens to add she distrusts Danilchenko. This may seem a very insignificant incident, but we mention it because it may mark the beginning of a plot which culminated in the rupture. Only an hypothesis, of course, but perhaps this was a covert attempt to discredit Tchaikovsky. In this instance he could easily clear himself of a suspicion of double-dealing; still the fact remains: Nadezhda Filaretovna had lent an ear to Danilchenko—distrust is a poisonous weed which, once planted, is difficult to uproot. Behind the insignificant Danilchenko, one of the galaxy of musicians who made a temporary residence in the Meck house, and among whom Debussy alone reached fame, there was an influence that grew steadily as Mme. von Meck's ailments made her more and more dependent upon her *entourage*.

Vladislav Pakhulski was a young Pole who entered Mme. von Meck's service as a violinist. He was a very inferior musician with an unfortunate passion for composing, his music being dutifully submitted to Tchaikovsky's criticism. The latter never dared tell Mme. von Meck what he thought of her protégé's work, but to his brothers he occasionally complains of the tedium of having to correct Pakhulski's "indigestible rubbish", and again: "I asked Kolia whether I might frankly

tell Pakhulski what I thought of his composition mania—"For heaven's sake, don't", he replied, 'mother would be awfully upset.' So I had to discuss Pakhulski's horrible stuff seriously." From musician, Pakhulski became the trusted secretary and factotum, responsible for Mme. von Meck's travelling arrangements and general comfort. His position was further consolidated when, in 1888, he married Julia, the drab, unattractive, middle-aged "home-daughter", and was henceforth a member of the family. Whether the unlimited admiration he professed for Tchaikovsky was but the desire to curry favor with his employer, or was genuine, we don't profess to know; but its terminology is too exuberant to be convincing. If we start from the premise that Pakhulski may have schemed to oust Tchaikovsky from Mme. von Meck's favor, he must have been activated by some motive. In view of his own secure position, there can be no question of any sordid material considerations. Would it be unnatural to surmise that, Tchaikovsky being unguarded in his words, and the world teeming with mischievous busybodies, somebody repeated to Pakhulski what "the Sun" actually thought of his music, and that it was just a personal *vendetta* of a man whose pride had been deeply wounded?

Possibly other members of the family were also annoyed by Tchaikovsky's lack of delicacy. People began to talk and crack jokes at the expense of Mme. von Meck, a fact she herself was blissfully unaware of. So the correspondence lagged on.

From abroad, Tchaikovsky scribbled reports of his successes, to his friend's unselfish delight. At last his music had won deserved recognition, he may now "rest on his laurels!" But at the same time she confesses her own failure and loneliness: yes, she does buy all the lap-dogs she can, and this, as she explains pathetically, because "I am of those who live with their *heart* . . . must always love and spoil someone, care for somebody. Now I have nobody to look after, my children have grown up and resent my solicitude, my grandchildren are denied me, so it is upon my doggies that I focus my affection and need of love. They appreciate my petting, accept my care . . . repay it with devotion." The year 1889 finds Tchaikovsky again touring Europe, but success does not satisfy his vague cravings: "I continue to feel incredibly bored . . . and await the end of my wanderings with a kind of morbid impatience." The answers are far between, they still breathe affection, though their main theme is Nadezhda Filaretovna's ill-health and the sundry embarrassments, domestic and financial, which assail her. Throughout the

year this exchange of letters proceeds fitfully, both correspondents have little to say to each other and seek refuge in the usual platitudes and conventional declarations. Tchaikovsky is planning *The Queen of Spades*; unfortunately his brotherly illusions together with his lack of taste cause him to entrust the libretto to Modeste who bungles it with his customary "improvements" upon Pushkin's perfect text.

The dawn of 1890 breaks peacefully, there is no portent of any impending disaster. In June Peter Ilyitch is yet the "dearest incomparable friend" to whom Nadezhda Filaretovna is "devoted with all my soul." July sees the Mecks gathered at Pleshcheevo. Whilst grandchildren of both sexes and all ages run wild about the narrow park skirting the river, on the shady verandah garlanded with wild vine their parents keep company to the matriarch, now very frail and weak. Did any momentous conversations take place? We shall never know, nor why a servant was suddenly dispatched to the villa near Moscow, atrociously furnished by the ubiquitous Alexis, where Tchaikovsky is on furlough. The man carries a packet with a letter and the "budget sum" for a year in advance. As Tchaikovsky had frequently petitioned for an advance, he was in nowise perturbed; so when shortly afterwards another letter, which has not come down to us, arrived in which Nadezhda Filaretovna, alleging financial difficulties, revoked her annuity, he was dumbfounded. With one stroke of the pen she had callously deprived him of a substantial part of his income, and, although he tried to deceive himself into believing that it was the "moral affront" which mattered, the brutally candid letter he wrote to Jürgenson, his publisher and trusted friend, discards all pretence. He imparts "most unpleasant news Henceforth I shall be the poorer by six thousand a year N.F. von Meck writes to say that, to her regret, and in view of her nearly complete financial ruin, she has to revoke my annuity So often had she said that this annuity was settled upon me for life that I imagined she had made some arrangements whereby, despite any eventualities, I would never lose my chief and, as I believed, securest income I shall have to re-organize my life and look for some well-paid post in Petersburg My relations with N.F. were such that her generosity never oppressed me; now I am humiliated, my pride is hurt, my conviction that she would support me materially at the cost of any sacrifice [sic] is shattered By our standards she is still wealthy. So it has all turned out to be a vulgar, silly farce of which I am ashamed and sick." He turned to Modeste and Alexis for sympathy, and received it. The latter, who looms

large in the correspondence and whose relations with the composer were somewhat equivocal, replied that "the whole thing was engineered by your Pole Pakhulski. . . . He envied your way of living." This explanation savors of the flunkey-mind: Pakhulski, married to Julia, was far better off than Tchaikovsky and had moreover considerable expectations. But, though the motives attributed to him were wrong, Alexis may have manifested a measure of perspicacity when he indicted Pakhulski as the culprit.

Tchaikovsky went on writing to Pleshcheevo, his letters were answered by the secretary son-in-law who denied that Mme. von Meck's feelings had changed, she was only too sick to write. This went on until the summer of 1891 when, with a lamentable lack of dignity, Tchaikovsky delivered himself of a long epistle of recriminations and complaints. Pakhulski's reply was again evasive and he "preferred to return" Tchaikovsky's letter. This was the end, all correspondence was broken off. If Tchaikovsky uneasily suspected the actual cause of the rupture, he was never given any definite reason. He lived two years more, an embittered man, his friendship towards his "kind genius and best friend" turned to gall and enmity.

In the late autumn of 1893 a violent attack of cholera carried him away. Modeste caught the last word he murmured. In his death-agony he was heard to say "accursed", and it is believed that the malediction was addressed to Nadezhda Filaretovna, the "priceless friend" of bygone days. She lingered on for another year, never breaking her silence, disdaining to claim the letters in which she had put all her heart and unveiled her soul: perhaps she nursed a last illusion, believing her friend had behaved like a gentleman and destroyed her letters, as she had asked him to do in the case of one particularly private one. He reassured her that her wish had been complied with . . . and carefully stored it away with the rest. Her secret died with her, and we have been left guessing.

Had the writers of *Beloved Friend* awaited the third volume of the letters, they would have never written the somewhat "Hollywood" closing chapter of their book. But even in the earlier volumes they might have learnt of Nadezhda Filaretovna's passionate love for her eldest son, her persistent championing of his cause, and how, when Tchaikovsky once trespassed upon forbidden ground, surmising that she cared less for Vladimir than for her other children, her retort was so vehement as to make him beat a hasty retreat and be more wary in the future. The truth, as far as we know, was less spectacular and sadder. Maybe the

friendship had outlived itself, the unnatural intimacy by letter between two utter strangers who had little in common, who had never spoken to each other, was a difficult thing to keep up indefinitely: it did go on by a kind of inertia, seeking to conceal its emptiness under a steady flow of triviality. But this was insufficient to cause the sudden rupture of all relations with a man to whom Mme. von Meck was undoubtedly deeply devoted. There must have been some extraneous factor which prompted the fatal decision.

At the dawn of their intimacy, in 1878, Mme. von Meck had penned this significant sentence: "My solicitude for you . . . will last as long as exist the feelings which unite us". Now, something killed those feelings; would it be rash to surmise that during that summer of 1890 her eyes were opened upon the true character of her "ideal man"? Tchaikovsky had always dreaded this moment, often he confided to his brothers his uneasiness: "a sword of Damocles is suspended over my head", as he put it dramatically. His perversity was a thing of common knowledge, and it was due to Mme. von Meck's clausuration that the ugly story never reached her ears. We shall never know who performed the painful operation which must have come like a death blow to Nadezhda Filaretovna.

We may accept Miss Drinker's vision of Mme. von Mecks' solitary meditation in her sunlit garden in its external aspect; the subject of her brooding, admitting she did brood, was vastly different: she dwelt on this final disappointment of her none too happy life, the cruel deception practised upon her throughout so many years, of the love she had wasted so unworthily. And as her sad thoughts travelled back through the arches of the years, absent-mindedly her thin heavily-ringed hand played with the silky ears of the tiny griffon comfortably curled up in her lap. The little creature raised its head and its large liquid eyes gazed adoringly upon its mistress' wan face, then gently and gratefully a warm soft tongue licked the caressing hand . . .

FURTHER LIGHT ON TCHAIKOVSKY

By NICOLAS SLONIMSKY

DID TCHAIKOVSKY COMMIT SUICIDE? Dark rumors that Tchaikovsky's death was self-inflicted have circulated for a very long time, and still find credence in certain biographies of the composer. The detailed account of Tchaikovsky's last illness and death in his brother's exhaustive story has not set these rumors at rest. Why? The answer is very simple. Modeste Tchaikovsky has suppressed, in his biography, so many true facts of his brother's life, has so deliberately misrepresented the entire circumstances of Tchaikovsky's marriage, has concealed so crudely the all-explaining factor of Tchaikovsky's emotional aberration, that the reader is fully justified in suspecting the objective truth of this biography. Since all subsequent biographies of Tchaikovsky are based on the information supplied by Modeste, the suspicion that the facts of Tchaikovsky's life have never been revealed has persisted throughout the years. With the publication of the three volumes of Tchaikovsky's correspondence with Mme. von Meck, and particularly with the revealing annotations to these letters made by Nicolai Zhegin, the late director of the Tchaikovsky Museum at Klin (he died on April 1, 1937), the whole truth concerning the facts that surround Tchaikovsky's marriage has been made brutally clear. There were no new revelations as to the circumstances of Tchaikovsky's death, however. He did drink the fateful glass of infected water, he did fall ill of the dread disease then ravaging St. Petersburg, and his death came as it came to hundreds of other victims of cholera, despite the efforts of his physicians, the two brothers Wassili and Leo Bertenson. If more proof were needed that Tchaikovsky did not drink poison, that he did not deliberately destroy himself, the following letter written by Leo Bertenson to Modeste Tchaikovsky on the day of Tchaikovsky's death, found in the archives of the Klin Museum, supplies the last link in the reference to the "dread disease":

St. Petersburg, Oct. 25 [Nov. 6], 1893

MY VERY DEAR MODESTE ILYITCH,

I should like to embrace you and tell you how deeply I am shocked by our common horrible misfortune, but I can hardly stand on my feet, and cannot go out.

The dread disease, which carried off your cherished brother, made me feel at one with him, with you, and with all those to whom he was dear. I cannot recover after this terrible tragedy which I was destined to witness, and cannot tell you all the agonies I am going through now. I can tell you only one thing: that I feel what you feel.

Your faithfully and deeply devoted

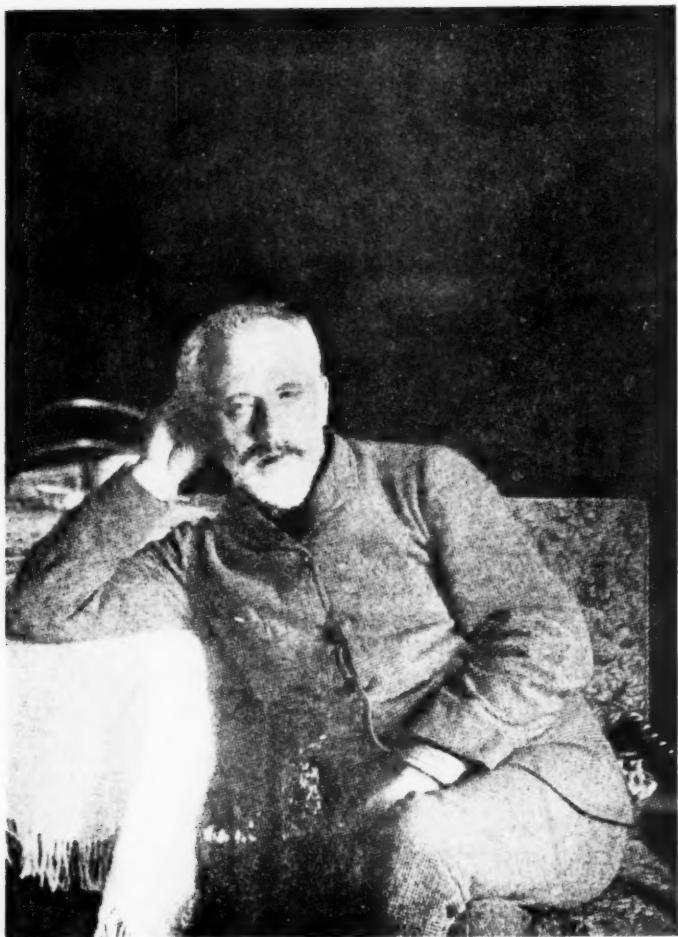
LEO BERTENSON

The history of Tchaikovsky's last days is apparently as follows: On Wednesday, October 20 (old style) he was quite well, and, according to friends, very cheerful; on the morning of Thursday, October 21, Tchaikovsky complained that he hadn't slept well because of indigestion. At eleven o'clock in the morning he changed clothes and went out to visit Napravnik, but decided to come back to take measures against his indisposition. Between 11 A.M. and 1 P.M. he wrote two letters, and a note to Napravnik's wife. He had lunch with Modeste, and, according to the latter's account, poured unboiled water in his glass, and drank some. It is not clear from Modeste's account how unboiled water could at all be tolerated during such an epidemic. At 6 P.M. Modeste put a warm compress on Tchaikovsky's stomach. Between 6 and 8 P.M. the digestive disturbances became so great that a doctor was sent for. At 8.15 P.M. arrived W. Bertenson, and shortly before 11 P.M. Leo Bertenson came, too. It was he who diagnosed the cholera. On Friday, October 22, the situation seemed slightly improved, so that Tchaikovsky even thanked Leo Bertenson for saving him from death. Tchaikovsky's state remained unchanged until Saturday, the twenty-third, when he became mentally depressed. He refused to take a bath, because he recalled that his mother had died of cholera just as she took a bath. On Sunday, the twenty-fourth, the situation was very grave, but still not critical. He was given a warm bath, and was apparently relieved by it. Toward 11 P.M., that day, Leo Bertenson came again, and found upon examination that the heart action was greatly weakened. The heart began to give way. It was clear that this was the end. At three o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fifth of October (November 6, 1893, new style) Tchaikovsky died.

We repeat, nothing has come to light, since Modeste Tchaikovsky's biography was published in 1900, that would refute his circumstantial account of Tchaikovsky's death. There still remains a possibility that the glass of water was used by Tchaikovsky as a sort of fatalistic defiance of death, similar to his quasi-suicide in Moscow when he walked into the river, fully dressed, on a chill night, in the hope of contracting a fatal



A snapshot of the banquet tendered to Tchaikovsky at a farewell party in Tiflis, in 1889
(Tchaikovsky is in foreground)



An informal photograph of Tchaikovsky taken in 1890

cold. Psychologically, however, it appears impossible. Tchaikovsky was relatively happy at the moment, and according to all witnesses of his agony, he shunned the thought that his indisposition was really the beginning of cholera. Finally, it is not proved that the indigestion on the morning of October 21, *before the glass of water*, was not already the beginning of cholera. Even if we believe the most sensational gossips about Tchaikovsky's being involved in an unsavory statutory offense in the autumn of 1893, still it is incredible that he should have selected such a circuitous manner of doing away with himself.



Why did Mme. von Meck quit? The story of the strange relationship between Tchaikovsky and Mme. von Meck is well known now that their correspondence has been published in its entirety. Tchaikovsky's letters to his brothers, often written immediately after a highly emotional missive addressed to Mme. von Meck, throw a disillusioning light on their relationship. Here are some excerpts from his letters to his brother Anatol: "From N.F. [Madame von Meck's initials] I have received nothing except the news that Plevna is taken. That surprises me not a little. I have only ten lire in my pocket." (Letter of December 3, 1877). "Incidentally, about Madame Meck. Today is the fifth of the month, and there is no sign of the money. I have only three lire in my pocket, and if I don't get anything from her by tomorrow, I shall have to do something about it." (Letter of December 5, 1877). "This morning I received from N. F. a letter with money for two months at once. Her letter is eight pages long and full of philosophy." (Letter of December 6, 1877).

It is not true that Tchaikovsky and Mme. von Meck never saw each other. On several occasions they attended the same theatre and watched each other through opera glasses. On one occasion they actually met during an afternoon walk in Simaki, Mme. von Meck's Russian estate, where Tchaikovsky stayed in the summer of 1879. The accounts of these involuntary meetings are interesting to compare.

Tchaikovsky to Mme. von Meck: "August 14, 8 P.M. I just came home. For heaven's sake forgive me. I did not calculate the time and ran right into your equipage, which must have caused you new embarrassment and additional inquiries on the part of Milotchka, and the necessity to explain to her why the mysterious inhabitant of Simaki

never visits your home, although he accepts your generous hospitality." (The mention of Milotchka, Mme. von Meck's daughter, and her inquiries, refers to Mme. von Meck's letter of two days before: "Milotchka is interested in my not being acquainted with you personally. A few days ago she asked me, *Est-il vrai que tu ne connais pas du tout Pierre Ilytch?*, to which I answered, *Au contraire, je le connais très bien, et surtout je l'aime beaucoup.*")

Tchaikovsky to his brother Anatol: "August 15. A very annoying thing happened yesterday. I went to the park about four o'clock, in full conviction that I would not run into N. F. who usually dines at that hour. But as it happened, I started a little bit early, and she was late, and I ran into her almost face to face. It was very awkward. Although we faced each other for only a moment, I was dreadfully embarrassed, but tipped my hat politely. She was completely confused and didn't know what to do. She was in her coach with Milotchka, and there were two more coaches following her, with her entire family." (In a letter to his brothers, Anatol and Modeste, of August 9, he wrote, as if he had a premonition, "There is no such ointment which does not have a fly to spoil it. The part of the fly is played by N. F. with her family and retinue. Although I'm absolutely convinced that no one will annoy me, this proximity bothers me somewhat.")

Mme. von Meck to Tchaikovsky: "August 16. My dear friend! You offer apologies for our meeting, but I am ecstatic over it. I cannot tell you how I felt in my heart when I realized that we met *you*, when I, so to speak, understood the *reality* of your presence here. I do not desire any personal relationship between us, but to be near you, silently, passively, to be with you under the same roof, as in the theater in Florence, to meet you on the same path, as on the day before yesterday, to feel you not as a myth but as a living man whom I love so dearly and from whom I receive so much good. This gives me an extraordinary delight, and I regard such occurrences as a great fortune. When we met, I didn't realize at first that it was you—we meet people so often, and I greet them without looking to see who they are. This time, too, I didn't look at the coachman or at the horses, and only when I looked once more did I understand *who* it was that we met, and I felt so happy that tears came to my eyes."

* * *

The break came after thirteen years of this highly emotional correspondence. But even after the end of direct correspondence, Tchaikovsky continued to receive news of Mme. von Meck through her son-in-law, Pakhulski, who tried hard to pacify Tchaikovsky and to persuade him that Mme. von Meck's feelings towards him remained unchanged, and that only her state of health kept her from writing: "N. F. wants to tell you that she feels very ill, and that morally she is very much depressed," he wrote, and again, on the next day, "N. F. asked me to send you her heartiest greetings and deep gratitude for your kind thought." Two months after this letter he writes: "Please forgive me that because of my carelessness and negligence you were led to suspect something quite contrary to the feelings of all who have the privilege of being your friends. N. F., to whom I gave your letter to read, instructed me to tell you that it is unthinkable that she should ever be angry with you, or that her feelings towards you should ever be different." And also: "I gave your regards to N. F. and she sends you her cordial greetings."

This situation continued until June 1891. Tchaikovsky was unnerved by this roundabout way of communication, and in his letter of June 6, 1891, demanded from Pakhulski a definite explanation. He wrote that he had never felt so humiliated and hurt in his pride as now. Pakhulski's reply was evasive: "You are under a misapprehension as to N. F.'s attitude. If, during the time that she was unable to write, there have been any changes, the chief reason was, and is, the state of her health . . . If you would write her about yourself as of old, and inquire about her, I guarantee that she would respond with all her soul and prove that her attitude toward you has not changed in the least; but you should not ask her why she has changed, *because she hasn't*."

Tchaikovsky did not follow Pakhulski's hint, probably feeling that it was not made in good faith, and stopped writing to him altogether. There was still a connecting link between the two families: Tchaikovsky's niece was married to one of Mme. von Meck's sons. But the young couple could not understand the cause of the break, and Tchaikovsky apparently was not eager to use their mediation.

There may be several explanations of the break. The emotional pitch of the correspondence had been falling down for some time, and Mme. von Meck might have finally experienced the difficulty of living up to a standard established by herself. It may be that Mme. von Meck had intended to resume the correspondence personally after the period of

Pakhulski's office as her amanuensis had expired, but that she acquired an inhibition which prevented her from continuing in the same vein as before, particularly in view of Tchaikovsky's insistence on knowing just what was the cause of the break. Another explanation lies in the difficult domestic situation in which Mme. von Meck must have found herself. Her children were growing and beginning to wonder, as Milochtka had wondered in her childish innocence, at the strange pact of non-meeting, between their mother and Tchaikovsky. The matter of family finances may also have antagonized the children. They could hardly understand why Mme. von Meck should have continued her bounties, after Tchaikovsky had gained both glory and high material awards for his musical compositions. Finally, there is still another explanation. It is this: Tchaikovsky's abnormal ways were well known. Since the start of his correspondence with Mme. von Meck, there was pervading fear in Tchaikovsky's mind that he would be "found out" and that his benefactress would get wind of the truth. If Mme. von Meck had learned the truth, then the denouncer must have been Pakhulski. A very significant letter from Tchaikovsky's faithful servant and friend, Alexei Sofronov, points to Pakhulski as a person capable of betraying Tchaikovsky's friendship. "You are writing that you lost your income, but with God's help the theaters will make up for the loss. They give your operas twice a week in Petersburg and Moscow. If they continue like that through the season, you will come off well. But, my dear benefactor, I think that it is not so much that N. F. lost her fortune but the intrigues of your Polish friend, Pakhulski. He envied you and your comfortable living."

It is not improbable that Pakhulski nursed a secret resentment against Tchaikovsky. He was a composer, and a great protégé of Mme. von Meck who kept sending Pakhulski's compositions to Tchaikovsky for an opinion. At one time Tchaikovsky was giving Pakhulski music lessons, paid for by the selfsame Mme. von Meck. Going over Pakhulski's stodgy music was a torture to the sensitive Tchaikovsky, who hated teaching anyhow. He made no secret of his opinion of Pakhulski as composer, and complained to his brothers about the necessity of continuing these lessons on account of Mme. von Meck. There can be no question that Pakhulski sensed Tchaikovsky's feeling toward his music and must have been deeply offended by it, although, out of deference to Tchaikovsky's greatness and to Mme. von Meck's admiration for him, he probably never breathed a word to anyone about it. The simple-minded but devoted Alexei Sofronov interpreted it in a simplified

manner as envy. But even if Pakhulski was an Iago, it must have taken him all of the five acts to kill Mme. von Meck's faith in Tchaikovsky, and the revelation of Tchaikovsky's true character must have come to her very gradually.

* * *

Sensation Z. The complete text of all of Tchaikovsky's diaries, including the most insignificant notes and remarks, was published in 1923 by the State Publishing House in Moscow. Parts of this diary, especially those that refer to music, are reproduced in Modeste Tchaikovsky's biography, and subsequently in later biographies in all languages. To a psychologist (or to a psycho-pathologist) the most interesting parts of the diary are those that were left out in Modeste's biography. Tchaikovsky was singularly frank with himself. At times he seems to have received a morbid gratification from contemplating his own wretchedness. In the library of the Klin Museum there is a book, a small octavo in Latin, on the title-page of which an inscription, in Tchaikovsky's handwriting, reads: "Stolen by Peter Ilyitch Tchaikovsky, Court Counsellor and Conservatory Professor, from the Library of the Palace of the Doges, at Venice, on December 3/15, 1877." (Incidentally, Tchaikovsky's brother Ippolit tore up the title-page with the inscription when he came across the volume, but the director of the Klin Museum retrieved the fragments from the wastebasket and pasted them together again, so that the self-accusing document is restored for posterity to behold.) In the diaries we find similar revelations of self-tormenting morbidity, along with interminable *trivia* about the daily card game and the dinner menu. There is also a constant reference to a sensation that Tchaikovsky designated by the letter *Z*: "I was greatly tormented not by the *sensation Z*, but by the fact that it is in me. I went to bed and didn't write anything. I slept feverishly." (May 25, 1884) "Our trip . . . would have been very pleasant were it not for the *sensation* which seemed to pass at first, but then came back with renewed strength." (May 29) "From early morning, the *sensation*. Took a long walk. Worked on (1) Variations, (2) the proofs of Mozart. During dinner, conversation with the German teacher (he is very loquacious) about classicism, education, etc. Just before dinner, considerable fall of rain. After dinner, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, the *sensation* disappeared, but came back again in the evening." (May 30) "All day, stormy clouds and rain, and in the evening, heavy rainfall. After dinner, for two hours or so, was inseparable with

my wonderful, incomparable Bob [Tchaikovsky's nephew]; he lounged on the porch, then on the bench and was so charmingly relaxed, and prattled about my compositions. Then came to my place and made me play for him. I worked after tea. . . . All day long, the *sensation*. Slept half of the night in the studio." (May 31) "Splendid weather. A long walk. Wrote the transcription of the Finale. After dinner, the *sensation* began to let up." (June 1) "After supper was with Bob in the studio and discussed his school work. The *sensation* was there, but I am not afraid of the enemy now because I know him." (June 2) "Am very tired. Took a long walk to the forest . . . I was almost left behind in the woods for the night through a misunderstanding. Terribly strong *sensation* Z. Almighty God! Forgive me and tame me! The *sensation* has passed completely. A telegram from Modeste. A strange thing, I hate to leave here. I think it is all Bob." (June 3) "I dreamed of M, as a result felt a little bit in love all day long, even more than a little in love. Nitchevo, Nitchevo Silence !!! Cards. I lost heavily. Felt furious because of that, but mainly from a thousand other reasons which constitute what I call Z. Went home under a sad, heavy pressure of that Z." (June 4)

The striking feature of the diaries is an almost complete absence of all mention of Mme. von Meck's name. It seems that all of Tchaikovsky's feeling for her (and there *was* a genuine feeling for her in Tchaikovsky's heart, apart from all considerations of gratitude and material convenience) went into their correspondence. Tchaikovsky had nothing to say about Mme. von Meck to *himself*. All he thought about her was perfectly *tellable* in his letters to her (slightly ornamented), or in his letters to his brothers (completely frank). To his diary he confided his innermost self, his deepest joy and affliction—the *sensation* Z.

TOWARDS A PREHISTORY OF OCCIDENTAL MUSIC¹

By CURT SACHS

ON THE WHOLE—what do we know of European music in antiquity? What do we know of European music even during the earlier Middle Ages? For the first epoch: the theory, the instruments, and a dozen melodies of the Greeks; for the later period: the rough outlines of an ecclesiastical music, which in fact was Oriental, not European.

This is all that we know, except for the casual remarks of a few Roman authors about the singing of Northern and Western peoples, of the Gauls and the Germans. But this information is rather vague and obscure. The best known passage is found in the third chapter of *De origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum*, written about 100 A.D. by Cornelius Tacitus: "Germans", he says, "possess a battle-song, *barritus*, which depends less upon the concordance of voices than upon the concordance of stout hearts". The sounds are first harsh, then murmuring; the shields held against their mouths amplify the voices.² Three hundred years later Ammianus Marcellinus describes the same *barritus*: it begins with a soft whizzing, slowly increasing to a noise like thunder.³ The Emperor Julianus Apostata, in the fourth century, compares German singing to the "croaking of birds"⁴; and even Bishop Venantius Fortunatus (*ca.* 600 A.D.) observes that the Burgundians and Franks could not distinguish between the cackling of geese and the singing of swans.⁵ Two hundred years later, Roman church singers protested against the "beastly" singing of the Franks who throttled the melodies in their throats.⁶

Evidently, these judgments give as little information as do the nine-

¹ Read before the American Musicological Society, on December 29, 1937 at the annual meeting in Pittsburgh, Pa.

² ch. III.

³ *Ammiani Marcellini rerum gestarum libri XVIII*, Lugduni Batavorum 1693, lib. XVI, c. XII, p. 113.

⁴ *Juliani Imperatoris Misopogon*, in *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Lipsiae 1696, p. 337.

⁵ *Venantii Fortunati opera omnia*, Parisiis 1850, in: J. P. Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 88, col. 62.

⁶ Andr. Du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, vol. II, *Lutesiae Parisiorum* 1636: *Vita Karoli Magni per Monachum Egolismensem scripta*, p. 75.

teenth-century opinions of European travelers on non-European music.

Once more we have to confess: save for Greek and Catholic church music, we know practically nothing of Occidental music up to the year 1000. That means: in music, prehistory lasted some four thousand years longer than in any of the other arts.

Our ignorance is the more deplorable because music history is a part of the general history of civilization. As a characteristic expression of different races and epochs, music is indeed no less important than painting, sculpture, pottery, and the forms of huts, weapons, and tools. In a certain way, music is still more significant than these arts and crafts. For music has but little to do with everyday life and there is no reason for it to change its style from time to time in order to improve conditions of life, as weapons, tools, and hut forms have been changed. Besides, the melody of a song is not a creation depending upon the will, but rather a psycho-physiological phenomenon. Melody is formed by a particular motor impulse due to sex, age, race, climate, and landscape, and therefore constant.

It is this constancy which opens a road towards the history of the earliest music or, better, towards a prehistory of music.

Prehistory, in its general sense, represents a collaboration of three different branches of human knowledge: archaeology, anthropology, and folk-lore. Archaeologists excavate the objective and palpable materials—pots, tools, weapons, remnants of houses, and tombs. Anthropologists and folklorists give the comparative material: they show that quite the same kind of pottery with almost the same decoration, the same tools and weapons, the same form of dwellings, the same customs of burying, continue up to this day among the primitives of all continents as well as among the farmers and shepherds of our own civilization. This constancy of everything pertaining to culture is indeed an astonishing fact. But anthropology and folk-lore do still more: they uncover the special customs, rites, and even the social and religious ideas connected with these objects. In short, to the material civilization supplied by excavations, anthropology and folk-lore add the reconstruction of the spiritual civilization in prehistoric times.

As to prehistoric music, we cannot hope to find anything by excavation, except for some musical instruments, and even for instruments only to the extent to which they are made from an imperishable material, such as bone, stone, or metal.

On the other hand, we possess living remnants.

Living remnants—we can, we must find them; because the life of certain kinds of music, even of individual melodies, is practically eternal. Songs written down by French troubadours eight hundred years ago are sung to this day by Catalonian peasants,⁷ and I recently found phrases of troubadour music in the folk-songs of modern Sardinia. But these eight hundred years are nothing compared to the age of Gregorian music. We are able to measure it by the fact that some of its melodies still live today in the Jewish rites of Babylonia and Yemen, as A. Z. Idelsohn has proved.⁸ These Jewish communities were separated from the rest of the Jewish people in the time of the first exile, *i.e.*, in the middle of the first millennium B.C. Since then, they have had contact neither with Jews nor, later on, with Christians. The Gregorian melodies must therefore be older than the epoch of the separation, indeed older than two thousand five hundred years.

In view of this longevity, we are quite sure that in the present-day folk-song of Occidental peoples we meet melodies, melodic patterns, and manners of chanting which go back, not centuries, but thousands of years. Without such longevity and constancy, the general levelling due to modern European civilization would have assimilated the characteristic folk-songs of the different countries. Levelling has done its best, indeed; and yet the result is not imposing.

It is not imposing, even when we take our information from those would-be collections of folk-songs in dinner jackets with neat piano accompaniments. But if we avoid these polished arrangements and approach the actual sources, we meet an astonishing diversity of folk-music in Europe. The Estonian girl in the North-East and the Asturian cow-herd in the South-West, the old Hebridian woman in the North-West, and the Bulgarian farmer in the South-East—their songs are separated by worlds and thousands of years.

Listen to these songs, directly or through good records, and your ear will be struck by many features which do not correspond at all to our average idea of European style. You would think: in contrast with songs of non-European singing, Europeans have a decent, tame, and well domesticated music. But wild, harsh shouts interrupt certain shepherd melodies in Rumania, the Alps, the old French province Le Berry, the Pyrenees, and elsewhere. European songs are composed of five tones and

⁷ Fr. Pujol, *L'oeuvre du Chansonnier populaire de la Catalogne*, Barcelona 1907, p. 29 ff.

⁸ A. Z. Idelsohn, *Parallelen zwischen gregorianischen und hebräisch-orientalischen Gesangsweisen*, in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. IV, 1922, p. 515.

two half tones, and arranged either in the major or in the minor mode, are they not? And yet one finds the halftone-less, pentatonic melodies not only in Scotland, but in many other European countries—as, for instance, in Hungary—and we meet Arabian three-quarter tones in Switzerland and in French Brittany. And how many more qualities which are not consistent with the European style of the last thousand years: over-complicated rhythms in Bulgaria; White Russian heterophonies; strange diaphonies by seconds in Istria; vocal drones in the Swiss canton Appenzell; compressed throat and sobbings on the Mediterranean border; the chuckling of Rumanian women; the triple reed-clarinets, lost and forgotten except for the interior of Sardinia. Let these examples suffice. The truth is that the nearest relatives of many European folk-songs are not to be found in Europe, but in the primitive music of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America.

It will be clear that we find ourselves here on the level of prehistoric archaeology. Archaeology, too, as we have seen, discovers in the present civilizations of non-European peoples parallels to the objects excavated in Europe. Hence prehistory projects the anthropological results upon the culture of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages. And finally, the picture is rounded out by the remnants of old ideas with which folk-lore is concerned.

The musicological method ought to be the reverse. Investigation must begin with folk-lore; folk-lore must be deepened and enlarged by anthropology; anthropology should be controlled by the results of excavations.

In this way we shall be able some day to reveal how, and what sort of melodies, ancient Europe sang.

Scholars cannot venture on so difficult and risky a research without a trustworthy method which has stood the test of time; mere imagination will not do. We have no right to say: this folk-song looks very old—indeed archaic; therefore I suppose it to be prehistoric. This would be scientific impressionism. And bad impressionism at that. An investigator wanting to retrace the features of archaic music, cannot begin with the music. It would mean exchanging the start for the goal, hypothesis for statement.

There is indeed a way by which we may test whether the character of a style is prehistoric or not.

First of all we must have a chronology of folk-music—no absolute

chronology with exact dates, but a relative one which establishes the greater or lesser age of different styles.

Appropriate criteria for such a chronology have been developed by anthropologists, and are now beginning to be employed in comparative linguistics.⁹ From among them we may use the following ones:

1. Phenomena observed in districts of cultural recession are older than the corresponding phenomena in districts of free circulation. Anthropologists understand by districts of recession, for instance, valleys that are accessible only with difficulty, islands, and swampy regions. Consequently, songs of the Hebrides must be older than the songs of Scotland; and the music of the Asturian valleys may be considered older than the music of the Andalusian plains.

2. If one meets identical phenomena on the opposite borders of a country, or of a continent, and in the center, on the contrary (forming a sort of wedge), a district with phenomena of a different kind, the phenomena of the border are the older. Thus, for instance, we meet pentatonic melodies in the North, in Scotland, Lapland, Finland, and again in the Mediterranean antiquity, the Roman church, Spain, and Hungary. These two districts, the Northern and the Southern zones, are separated by a kind of central wedge, *i.e.* the region dominated by Major and Minor. These must be younger than the pentatonic modes.

3. If there is one territory showing two styles of music, and one of them is found clustered together in one district, while the other style is scattered over various places of the same territory, the latter style must be the older. If one meets three-quarter tone melodies in one valley in Switzerland and in some few villages of French Brittany, three-quarter tone melodies must be essentially older than diatonic melodies which are spread over the whole continent.

4. Colonies generally preserve an earlier stage of development than the mother-country. Everyone knows that the Canadian French language is more archaic than Parisian French. Similarly, if you find today in Sardinia remnants of Phoenician, *i.e.* Syrian music, they must be more archaic than the music found in Syria itself.

5. Dead or dying phases are older than living ones. A style faithfully preserved but not continued by new creations, is a dying phase of development. Thus free rhythm must be older than strict rhythm.

With these five principles or methodical axioms, we are enabled to

⁹ Giulio Bertoni e Matteo G. Bartoli, *Breviario di neolinguistica*, Modena 1925.

judge the approximate place of folk-songs or vocal styles. We can establish a relative chronology.

But we are now face to face with a second problem. Which of the older styles goes back to prehistoric epochs?

The answer is threefold:

1. If the musical style of a people, isolated in its surroundings, coincides with the style of a remote civilization which once had relations with this people in a prehistoric or protohistoric epoch, the style goes back to a prehistoric era.
2. If the style is more or less identical with the style of a non-European primitive civilization, the same is true.
3. If, according to the principles given above, a style is older than another style which has been recognized as being prehistoric, we can be sure of its prehistoric age.

Thus the relative chronology we have established changes gradually into an absolute chronology by dates.

These few suggestions may suffice for the moment. They give an idea of the problem. The new branch, of musicological prehistory, is roughly traced herewith. Detailed research will have to develop it. The study of this prehistory will lead to many hidden facts shedding new light upon old phenomena. And the history of music will eventually establish a basis upon which its fabric may rest. Certain Mediterranean folk-melodies, for instance, are so closely connected with melodies of the Troubadours that we must conclude that the *style fleuri* of the last millennium is an inheritance at the least from the Bronze Age. The everlasting struggle against this figural style, initiated by the famous bull of Pope John XXII in 1324, and continued by the great Council of Trent in Palestrina's time, and later on by the French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—this struggle is, in fact, the conflict between North and South, between continental Europe and the border of the Mediterranean. And the eternal to and fro of flowing, endless melody and symmetric form, of imitation and imagination, of descriptive and abstract styles—whatever moves us, comes from prehistory, from the very childhood of mankind, from the roots of our being.

And we need but know our roots to know ourselves.

SOME HELLENIC IDEAS ON MUSIC AND CHARACTER

By LOUIS HARAP

IN PRACTICE it is not always easy to separate the technics from the aesthetics of an art. A first statement of this difference might be that technics gives an analysis of the internal structure of an art, while aesthetics treats of the relationships between the finished art object and human observers. The contrast is roughly between a study of the construction of a work of art and the enjoyment of it. The Greeks occupied themselves with both phases of musical studies—a fact that is not surprising in view of the prominent place held by music in the life of that speculative people. "Music," said Plato, "is more celebrated than any other kind of imitation."¹ Although not a great deal of technical literature on music has survived, enough remains to assure us that this study was deeply investigated by the Greeks. I shall not here be much concerned with their technical theories of the octave, modes, or notation. In this essay, which makes no pretense to completeness, I shall try mainly to set down some ideas entertained by the Greeks upon how the enjoyment of music affected human character, usually designated as the "ethos" theory of music.²

* * *

As everyone knows, the earliest and most basic of all musical discoveries in the West was made by Pythagoras, when he discerned the principle of the regular proportional relationship between the pitches.³ The subsequent development of music would have been impossible without this knowledge. However, what is for us a technical principle

¹ Laws 669 B. All passages from Plato are from the Jowett translation, unless otherwise specified.

² The reader should be warned that this whole subject is fraught with conjecture and controversy. See the *caveat* of T. Reinach, *La Musique Grècque* (1926), pp. 44-45.

³ Curt Sachs has argued that both the discovery of the scale and the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres were not original with Pythagoras, but that this theorist gathered these ideas during student days in Egypt. See Curt Sachs, *Musik des Altertums* (1924), pp. 16 and 49, and the same author's *Die Musik der Antike* (1928), in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, edited by E. Bücken, pp. 3-4.

of music was to Pythagoras the primary metaphysical fact about the world. The Milesian philosophers, Anaximander and Anaximenes, had bequeathed to Pythagoras the problem of accounting for the existence of an ordered world in the midst of conflict and opposition. Pythagoras tried to solve the problem by the principle of harmony (*áquovia*). By experimenting with a musical string he had discovered that the pitch intervals of the octave, the fourth and the fifth were related in a regular ratio. In other words, high and low pitches were resolved in an "attunement" (*áquovia*) that resolved their opposition, for each was related to the other in due measure. Pythagoras reasoned analogously from this example of numerical regularity to everything else, and he thought harmony was the clue to an explanation of the world.⁴ Human life, to be properly healthful and ordered, should also be harmonious. The relations of elements in life, both internal and external to the individual, must make a "healthful music," as Hamlet says. For the soul, if it is healthful, is attuned to the harmony made by the heavenly bodies. This is the famous idea of the "harmony of the spheres," which does not, as is popularly supposed, denote the music made by the motion of all the heavenly bodies in concert. This is a much later development than Pythagoras. The earlier astronomy permitted only a crude, limited conception of the heavens (for example, the sun and moon were not thought to be "spheres," but circles) and the harmony of the spheres is rather a condition of the soul, so that it vibrates sympathetically with the fourth, fifth and octave given out by the heavenly circles in their motion.⁵

Music and mathematics, because they presented the soul with pure instances of harmony, were held by Pythagoras to have purgative effects. He was the first among philosophers to expound the idea of catharsis, which had been transmitted to him through the Orphicism in his religious background. The idea of catharsis by music was present in the ancient tradition that Orpheus with his lute calmed beasts and that Amphion moved the stones with his music. The *καθαροί*, rites of purification by enthusiasm, were regularly practised in the Orphic religions as a means of releasing the soul from its bodily tomb. Pythagoras carried this idea further in prescribing appropriate music for each specific type of mental disturbance, and in his doctrine of the harmony of the "circles." Iamblichus relates that "Pythagoras was likewise of opinion

⁴ It should not be necessary to remind the reader that harmony signified to the Greeks a linear series of pitches, and not a simultaneous concord.

⁵ Cf. J. Burnet, "Early Greek Philosophy", 3rd ed., pp. 110, 306 ff., and his article, "Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism" in Hastings' "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics", vol. X, p. 528.

that music contributed greatly to health, if it was used in an appropriate manner. . . . And he called the medicine which is obtained through music by the name of purification. . . . But he employed such a melody as this during the vernal seasons. . . . And there are certain melodies devised as remedies against the passions of the soul, and also against despondency and lamentation, which Pythagoras invented as things that afford the greatest assistance in these maladies.⁶ After specifying more of these remedies, Iamblichus concludes that "after this manner, therefore, Pythagoras through music produced the most beneficial correction of human manners and lives."⁷ Pythagoras believed that the hearing of sounds which bore certain arithmetical relationships had a powerful and quite specific effect on the soul. The movements in each piece of music produced similar movements in the soul. Since desirable states of the soul could be induced by suitable music, it assumed great importance for moral life. Pythagoras had finally deepened the primitive conception of purification by music when he founded it upon a universal metaphysical theory of harmony.

As might have been expected, his followers developed in two directions. Some of them became absorbed in his mathematical theory of music, while others were preoccupied with the ethos theory of the effect of music upon character. Among the earliest of the former was Lasos, one of the seven sages, who was said to have been the instructor of Pindar in lyric composition and a composer as well as a theoretician. He was the first Greek to write on music, establishing in writing the theoretical system of Greek music and giving definitive form to its technical vocabulary; and he was perhaps the founder of notation for vocal music.⁸ On the side of the ethos-theory the outstanding exponent was Damon the Athenian, a friend of Socrates and also of Pericles, and thus in a good position to gain a wide hearing for his ideas. It was Damon who laid down a prohibition of the aulos, because he thought the ethical effects of the cither and lyre to be superior to the relaxing influence of the aulos. He gave to Pythagorean ethical teachings on music their standard form and carried out their implications for the life of the community. The political and social significance of music was emphasized by him for, according to Plato, Damon said, "that when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change

⁶ Iamblichus, "Life of Pythagoras", trans. by Thomas Taylor (1818), ch. XXV, pp. 80-82.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁸ On Lasos see F. A. Gevaert and J. C. Vollgraf, *Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote* (1903), pp. 103-107.

with them."⁹ He also exerted great influence upon Greek education by elaborating the relation of melody, rhythm,¹⁰ and tone quality to the dispositions of the soul. Damon's articulation of the ethos-theory and his emphasis upon the political aspect of music form the basis of these ideas in Plato and Aristotle.

* * *

Of all the adherents to the view that music influences character Plato was the most severe and uncompromising. He states in its extreme form the view that the beautiful in music is an imitation of the virtuous. "And not to be tedious," he said decisively, "let us say that the figures and melodies which are expressive of virtue of soul or body, or of images of virtue, are without exception good, and those which are expressive of vice are the reverse of good."¹¹ The ethical element in Plato's use of *καλός* as the "beautiful" dominates in this passage. In other words, beauty in music depends on ethos, or the character it expresses. For the ethos-theory is based on the view that music directly and precisely imitates human dispositions, because of the similarities of movement in music and in the soul. The Greeks conceived of the soul as being in motion when affectively alive (hence the term "emotion"). Plato said that melody has "movements akin to the revolutions of the soul within us."¹² The musician must know, relative to "harmonies," what are "the affections corresponding to them in the movements of the human body, which when measured by numbers ought, as they say, to be called rhythms and measures."¹³ Melodies express the virtues of the soul and body or their vices.¹⁴ "Everyone will admit," Plato affirmed, "that musical compositions are all imitative and representative."¹⁵

If we consider as a whole all the scattered passages on the ethos-theory in Plato, we find that the musical motion which is a reconstruction of the soul's movement is not simple, but the resultant of several simultaneous motions. It is not only the tonal movement from one note to another, that is, the melody, that Plato regarded as determining the ethical character of music, but also rhythm, tempo and tone-quality of

⁹ "Republic" 424 C.

¹⁰ Cf. "Republic" 400 B-C.

¹¹ "Laws", 655 B.

¹² "Timaeus" 47 D, trans. A. E. Taylor. Cf. also "Laws" 790 C f.

¹³ "Philebus" 17 D.

¹⁴ "Laws" 655 B. Cf. also 789 D.

¹⁵ "Laws" 668 B.

the instrument. Hermann Abert has given the name *Gesamtethos* to this resultant ethical character of music in a work indispensable for the understanding of this entire subject.¹⁶ Of this resultant ethos, rhythm and melody are the chief, but not total, constituents. The melodic aspect of music is comprehended by the modal system. Some of the Greeks believed that each mode expressed the dominant national character of the states in which they were prevalent, and the modes were duly named after the localities of their presumed origin—Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian and Aeolian.¹⁷ All of these modes finally became familiar in Athens, much to the distress of the defenders of the ancient Dorian mode, which was, according to Plato, "the true Hellenic mode, . . . which is a harmony of words and deeds."¹⁸ To this mode was attributed the cardinal Greek virtue of temperance, and the temperament of the ideal citizen finds expression in it. The Phrygian mode manifests courage and is useful when citizens need to ward off dangers to themselves and to the republic. These two, the Dorian and Phrygian, are alone worthy to be retained in Plato's ideal state.¹⁹ Plato is peculiar among the ancients in thus regarding the Phrygian as the mode of courage, for all others characterized it as the enthusiastic, orgiastic mode. Aristotle specially criticizes Plato for retaining the Phrygian mode while rejecting the aulos, "for the Phrygian is to the modes what the flute [aulos] is to musical instruments—both of them are exciting and emotional."²⁰ It may be, however, that Plato's "Phrygian" was a different mode from the one Aristotle knew by that name, and one of an older system. Plato completely rejects the other modes, for they are "relaxed" and debilitating. The Lydian mode is melancholy, expressive of sorrow and lamentation; the Ionian has the quality of softness and indolence and accompanies drunkenness.²¹

Rhythm, as well as melody, contributed to the total ethos of a composition, and hence rhythm must be consonant with the melody in disposition. For this reason Plato enjoins care in the selection of songs appropriate for men and women, respectively, saying that the state

¹⁶ Hermann Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der Griechischen Musik*, Leipzig, 1899.

¹⁷ But see "Oxford History of Music", Introductory Volume (1929), p. 11.

¹⁸ "Laches" 188 D, 193 D.

¹⁹ "Republic" 399 A f., "Laws" 660 A.

²⁰ Aristotle, "Politics", tr. Jowett, 1342 b 2-3.

²¹ "Republic" 398 C. For an extended discussion of the ethical character of the modes see Abert, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-100; A. Gevaert, *Histoire et Théorie de la Musique de l'Antiquité* (1875), Vol. I, pp. 178-199.

"must assign to them their proper melodies and rhythms."²² The tempo (ἀγωγή) is another constituent of the total ethos of music.²³ Plato reports that Damon "appeared to praise or censure the movement [tempo, ἀγωγή] of the foot as much as the rhythm; or perhaps a combination of these two, for I am not certain what he meant."²⁴ It will be noticed that rhythm is here sharply distinguished from tempo, showing a high degree of sophistication in musical theory. And to these factors which together make up the final ethos of music, the tone-quality of instruments must be added. Plato was so severe as to condemn purely instrumental music because its ethos could not be unequivocally known in the absence of a discursive text.²⁵ The aulos, at any rate, is definitely known to have an indubitably bad ethos, and is completely to be forbidden, as Plato affirms,²⁶ following Damon. The simple lyre and harp may be used (although not apart from a text or a dance, we may assume), for at least they are not intrinsically luxurious instruments.²⁷

In view of this belief in the powerful and direct effects which music produced upon character, the Greeks naturally were careful to prescribe the part that music was to play in education. It should be noted that Plato, and others like him tinged with Pythagoreanism, conceived of music not only as the special art of sound, but also in a wider sense as a generic means of producing harmony and proportion, toward which end the art of sound loomed large. Poetry, singing, and dancing were "musical" arts. In Plato's scheme of education, music, in this broader meaning, was to train the soul to a sense of proportion, while a harmonious state of the body is achieved through the second main part of education, gymnastic. This was probably the usual Greek conception of music, for we find Protagoras, in the dialogue of Plato named after him, recommending musical education, in the large sense, for the young, to make the proper "harmonies and rhythms quite familiar to the children's souls, in order that they may learn to be more gentle, and harmonious, and rhythmical, and so more fitted for speech and action."²⁸ Plato laid down very strict regulations in the musical education of the

²² "Laws" 802 D. Cf. also "Laws" 669 B f.

²³ This was first pointed out by Abert, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁴ "Republic" 400 C.

²⁵ "Laws" 669 C f. This problem does not seem to have troubled Aristotle. Though he recognizes that "music, even if it is unaccompanied by words, yet has character," ("Problemata" 919 b 27) he seems not to have feared the risk involved in purely instrumental music.

²⁶ "Republic" 399 C.

²⁷ "Republic" 399 D-E.

²⁸ "Protagoras" 326 B.

young. In the "Republic" (Books II and III) he expounds at length the details of a rigid censorship of poetry and music, and reverts to the subject in the "Laws" (797 ff.). Music is to habituate children to harmonies and states of mind favorable to the conservation of the republic: children are educated in music that they "may not be habituated to feel joy and sorrow in a manner at variance with the law, but may rather follow the law."²⁹

Although the same ethical principles apply to music both in the wide and narrow senses, our main concern here is with their application to the art of sound. Because the influence of music on character is so great, this art must be regulated not only for children, but for citizens of all ages. "Melody," wrote Plato, in a Pythagorean vein, "with its movements akin to the revolutions of the soul within us, has been given by the Muses to him who uses their company with understanding, not for foolish pleasure, which is thought to-day its function, but as an ally for the revolutions of the soul within us that has been put out of tune, to bring it back to order and consonance with itself. Rhythm also was granted us to the same end."³⁰ This therapeutic function of music is not as prominent in Plato as that of reinforcing temperance and civic virtue. The soft, sweet and melancholy airs in the Ionian modes, for instance, conduce to effeminacy and thus weaken the fighting spirit of the warriors.³¹ Musical innovation is dangerous to the state because the spirit of license introduced by innovation "imperceptibly penetrates into manners and customs" and leads progressively to a degree of lawlessness that finally undermines the state.³² Classic simplicity of melody and rhythm must be preserved. Plato protests against the increasing complexities of rhythm and melody then being introduced into Greek music, for such complexity engenders license and disease of the soul.³³



The uncompromising aspect assumed by the ethos-theory in Plato becomes considerably softened when subjected to the less ardent mind of Aristotle. We shall see that the latter departs from the Platonic view in assigning a self-sufficient value to serious music. Though Aristotle's

²⁹ "Laws" 659 D.

³⁰ "Timaeus" 47 D, trans. A. E. Taylor.

³¹ "Republic" 411 A-D.

³² "Republic" 423 B f. Cf. also Laws 700 C, 797 D f.

³³ "Republic" 404 E. Cf. also 399 B, 400 E.

technical knowledge of music was greater than that of his master, he follows Plato closely enough for a long way. Music, for Aristotle, was a form of imitation. "Rhythm and melody," he wrote, "supply imitations of anger and gentleness, and also of courage and temperance, and of all the qualities contrary to these, and of the other qualities of character."³⁴ This is reaffirmed in the "Problemata" which, if not by Aristotle himself, is undoubtedly Aristotelian. The movement to which sound gives rise "resembles moral character both in the rhythms and in the melodic disposition of the high and low notes."³⁵ The ethos-theory, that is, music as an imitation of character, is then the particular form which the imitation takes in the case of the art of sound. According to Aristotle the modes are of three kinds: the ethical ($\eta\thetaικ\alpha$), representing the feeling which accompanies a moral decision; the active ($\pi\varphiακτικ\alpha$), which incites to overt action, as in military music, or represents overt actions somewhat in the manner of program music; and the enthusiastic ($\epsilon\nu\thetaουσιαστικ\alpha$), the mode of extreme agitation, which is homeopathically administered as a purgative to excited persons.³⁶ Besides the melodic mode, rhythm too has an affinity to human character,³⁷ as also do musical instruments.³⁸ Aristotle urges special care upon the dramatist that his music be appropriate to the character expressed in the poetic text,³⁹ just as Plato says of the music to be allowed in his "Republic" that "the melody and rhythm will depend on the words."⁴⁰ And like him, Aristotle too regards the Dorian mode as producing "a moderate and settled temper, which appears to be the peculiar effect of the Dorian."⁴¹ The effects of the relaxed modes are debilitating, while other modes, like the Phrygian, are excited and have a purgative effect.

When Aristotle comes to name the legitimate uses to which he believes music can be put, the difference in their views stands out. Aristotle declares himself to be in substantial agreement with "philosophers," probably Plato and Damon, among others, on the rôle of music in education.⁴² The Dorian mode is particularly fitted to the education of

³⁴ "Politics" 1340 a 19-23. All citations from Aristotle are taken from the Oxford translation of his works.

³⁵ "Problemata" 919 b 33-34.

³⁶ "Politics" 1341 b 33-35. This classification is continued by the Aristoxenians. Cleonides (pseudo-Euclid) notes the three styles as hesychastic, systaltic and diastaltic.

³⁷ "Politics" 1340 a 19.

³⁸ "Politics" 1341 a 21-23.

³⁹ "Problemata", ch. XIX, 48, 922 b 10 f.

⁴⁰ "Republic" 398 C.

⁴¹ "Politics" 1340 b 3-4.

⁴² "Politics" 1340 b 5-6.

the young because it is the mean between the relaxed Lydian and the excited Phrygian, and the mean in all aspects of life promotes virtue.⁴³ And "music has the power of character, and should therefore be introduced into the education of the young."⁴⁴ Habituation to true and virtuous pleasures that results from training in the right music makes it a powerful weapon for education. From this point on, however, Aristotle goes beyond Plato. He held that music taught in youth cultivates the taste for music to be fully enjoyed in maturity.⁴⁵ He also grants that enthusiastic music has a proper function as catharsis; "for feelings such as pity and fear, or again, enthusiasm, exist very strongly in some souls, and have more or less influence over all."⁴⁶ Purgation of this excess in emotional life Aristotle considered entirely proper, not only in music, but in tragedy as well. He saw all orders of life on their own terms and dealt with them accordingly, while for Plato every aspect of life was subordinated to the transcendent ideal of philosophic vision. The earlier Plato tended to ignore common needs and in large measure condemned those activities that did not directly promote the life of vision.⁴⁷ Although Plato does admit the cathartic function of music in a Pythagorean passage ("Timaeus" 47 E), this admission is an isolated one. Otherwise he forbids the exciting music of the aulos, while Aristotle deals differently with this question. There is a "proper time" for playing the aulos, "when the performance aims not at instruction, but at the relief of the passions."⁴⁸ In other words, this use of the music of the aulos is just what we found in Pythagoras: a homeopathic treatment of an agitated emotional state by orgiastic music.

Besides the use of music for education and for catharsis, Aristotle notes its function as relaxation and recreation, which, we conjecture, must have meant to the Greeks what amusement, as contrasted with serious art, means to us. Plato also approves of amusement, if nothing of importance is involved. But as usual Aristotle goes farther than Plato when the former permits "perverted melodies and highly strung and unnaturally coloured melodies" for the relaxation of mechanics and laborers who, owing to their lack of education, cannot enjoy the ethical

⁴³ Plato, as we may recall, preferred the Dorian because he thought it the mode of temperance, the Platonic equivalent to the Aristotelian mean.

⁴⁴ "Politics" 1340 b 11-12.

⁴⁵ "Politics" 1339 a 25 f.

⁴⁶ "Politics" 1342 a 5-7.

⁴⁷ This view is somewhat mitigated by Plato in his "Philebus."

⁴⁸ "Politics" 1341 a 23. Cf. also 1342 a 5-16.

melodies.⁴⁹ Plato would never have made such a concession to vulgar taste. A fourth, and very significant, use of music named by Aristotle is that of enjoyment for its own sake as a disciplined, "intellectual" activity (*διαγωγή*).⁵⁰ Such self-sufficient activity is for Aristotle the end of human life, the complete realization of man's rationality. All liberal pursuits—that is, those which are not "useful or necessary"⁵¹—are enjoyed for themselves alone, each in its own right. Musical activity of this kind is not merely pleasant, like relaxation, but one in which the pleasant (*ήδονή*) is joined with the rationally fine (*καλὸν*).⁵² On the whole, however, Aristotle resisted the dual tendency of Plato to subordinate the individual to the state, even to the extent of drastic limitation of their enjoyment; and, as Plato so often does, to regard as unworthy any form of activity which did not directly promote the philosophic vision. As a result, Aristotle countenances a wider range of musical enjoyment.

* * *

Aristotle's naturalism and respect for the empirical are reflected in the musical ideas of his followers, and chiefly in Aristoxenus, called ὁ μυσικός, "The Musician," by the ancients, much as the mediaevals called Aristotle "The Philosopher." What we know of him justifies the title, for he was without doubt one of the greatest of all musical theorists. His solution of the problem of the well-tempered scale⁵³ was lost upon antiquity and was not known again until Werckmeister re-created and Bach re-introduced it. Our knowledge of Greek music owes more to him than to anyone else. Of all the Greeks, he saw most clearly the essence of music; and his conception reveals a rare insight into the sensuous and organic nature of the art. He conducted a polemic against two extreme schools of musical theory in his time. On the one hand there were the Pythagorean mathematical physicists who saw music as a discipline concerned with numerical proportions and thus completely overlooked its essence, its aspect as sound. Sensuous data were reduced by the Pythagoreans to their numerical equivalents, proportional string lengths; and they regarded these numerical data as musical phenomena.

⁴⁹ "Politics" 1342 a 19-27.

⁵⁰ "Politics" 1338 a 1 f.

⁵¹ "Politics" 1338 a 31.

⁵² "Politics" 1339 b 17-19. Plato approaches this point of view in the "Philebus," where he says that the good in itself is a mixture of pleasure with knowledge (*εποτήμην*) (60 A f.), and then includes musical knowledge among these goods (62 C).

⁵³ But see "Oxford History of Music", Introductory Volume (1929), pp. 4-5.

As Aristoxenus expressed it, these rationalists asserted "that height and depth of pitch consist in certain numerical ratios and relative rates of vibration—a theory utterly extraneous to the subject and quite at variance with the phenomena."⁵⁴ At the other extreme were those naive empiricists who fastened upon some single field within music and regarded it as the whole of harmonic. Some devoted themselves exclusively to a study of musical notation, but Aristoxenus observes acutely that, "if a man notes down the Phrygian scale, it does not follow that he must know the essence of the Phrygian scale,"⁵⁵ just as one can know all the literal facts about metre without getting at the essence of poetry. Similarly some simple musicians defined harmonic as "the knowledge of clarinets [auloi], and the ability to tell the manner of production of, and the agencies employed in, any piece rendered on the clarinet [aulos]."⁵⁶ To which Aristoxenus replies that all instruments alike participate in the general laws of harmony, but that each instrument employs means peculiar to its limited nature. Harmony in general is broader than the adaptation of sound to any single instrument.

For Aristoxenus music depended inseparably upon both immediate sense-discrimination of sound and the ability to relate such discriminations—both "hearing and intellect," as he says.⁵⁷ Fine sense-discrimination is not called for in geometry, since the deductive procedure of this study requires only crude vision to indicate and illustrate those abstract principles and axioms under discussion. It is rather the carpenter or handcraftsman who must exercise keenness of vision analogous to the sensuous discrimination of the musician in sound. In order to prove facts about pitches and their relations, such sounds must be accurately discriminated. Aristoxenus consequently thinks of music as a science of melodious sound,⁵⁸ and "of all the objects to which the five senses apply not one other is characterized by an orderliness so extensive and so perfect."⁵⁹ He saw further that previous theorists had not grasped the sensuously dynamic nature of music, for he realized that, not only did notes have pitch, and not only did pitches stand in formal, mathematical relations one to the other, but also that each note had an auditory func-

⁵⁴ "The Elements of Harmony," tr. by A. S. Macran (1902), 32 M (Meibohm pagination).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 39 M.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 39 M.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 33 M.

⁵⁸ For his interesting distinction between speech and music (melodious sound), see "The Elements of Harmony," 8 M ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5 M.

tion. Each note in a melody bore an organic relation to the other notes. "Melody which accords with the laws of harmony," said Aristoxenus, "is not constituted by intervals and notes alone. Collocation upon a definite principle is also indispensable."⁶⁰ This is the basic principle of formal analysis in music. Although, so far as I know, the ancients made only primitive analyses of musical form (for the good reason, probably, that their music was not formally complicated like ours), this great discovery of the organic nature of music by Aristoxenus certainly provided theoretical foundations for such a study. "It is plain," he said, "that the apprehension of melody consists in noting with both ear and intellect every distinction as it arises in the successive sounds . . . For the apprehension of music depends on these two faculties, sense-perception and memory."⁶¹ Aristoxenus combined in himself the virtues of Pythagoras and Aristotle, a sense of the importance both of abstract relations and of empirical data. It was very unfortunate that the Greeks failed to see the importance of this aspect of Aristoxenus' theory, and it soon dropped from attention.

Aristoxenus inherited another trait of Pythagoreanism, namely moral severity, as was manifested in his adherence to the ethos-theory. In the "Elements of Harmony" references to ethos are very sparse. Of a certain style he says that "far from being contemptible, it is perhaps the noblest of all styles."⁶² But he expresses some doubt as to the effects of music on character. He rebukes certain people for giving too broad a scope to his statement that "one class of musical art is hurtful to the moral character, another improves it," while they missed completely our qualification of this statement, "in so far as musical art can improve the moral character."⁶³ Unfortunately he does not elaborate upon this qualification in the writings left to us. Nevertheless, if the evidence from Plutarch is to be credited, Aristoxenus was no less severe in his ethos-theory than Plato. Like the latter, he condemned the vocal music just emerging, and regretted the departure from the simplicity and seriousness of the older music.⁶⁴ Aristoxenus sees the utility of music in forming the character of the young, and of arousing the war-like spirit in soldiers.⁶⁵ He also insists

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 18 M.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 38 M.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 23 M.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 31 M.

⁶⁴ Plutarch, *De la Musique*, tr. by H. Weil and T. Reinach, ch. 12. Cf. also ch. 18. Westphal has shown that the passages I shall cite at this point were taken from the "Table-Talk" of Aristoxenus. Cf. Plutarch, *Über die Musik*, tr. and ed. by R. Westphal (1868), pp. 19 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 26.

that it does not suffice the musician to possess a technical knowledge of rhythm and melody. Combined with these, the complete musician must have a thorough sense of the ethos of music. He must know how to fit the text of a song or the ethos of an instrumental piece to its appropriate mode and rhythm. "Whoever wishes to be a complete musician," he wrote, "must combine a knowledge of musical theory and technique with correct musical judgment,"⁶⁶ and by musical judgment he was referring to a sense of propriety of rhythm and melody to the ethical character the musician intended to convey.

* * *

The ethos-theory did not pass unchallenged in antiquity. A certain school, which Abert calls the "Formalists," denied that music either resembled character or affected its development. The fullest expression of this view is to be found in Philodemus (First Century B.C.). In 1899, Hermann Abert had affirmed that, although hardly any Formalist writing before Philodemus had survived, this writer was really expounding ideas advanced by the Sophists of Fourth Century B.C. in opposition to the ethos-theorists.⁶⁷ Abert showed that Philodemus was expressing the views of Epicurus, who in turn derived in this matter from Democritus. We know that Democritus investigated the physics of hearing and that he regarded music as a late acquisition of man, an article of luxury rather than necessity. He was a Sophist of the Greek enlightenment, during which all traditional views were questioned, among which must have been the theory that music had an ethical character. Human institutions and knowledge, the Sophists maintained, were not expressions of natural law (*φύσις*) but convention (*vόμος*) with no deeper foundation or validity than acquiescence. The obvious subjectivity of the response to music could not have escaped their critical minds, and, in fact, Abert holds that on several occasions, when discussing the ethos-theory, Plato seems to be answering opponents.

In 1902, three years after Abert had conjectured in the absence of any documents that the Sophists were violently opposed to the ethos-theory, a manuscript dating from the third or fourth century B.C. was discovered which strikingly confirmed this conjecture. The author of the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 36. Cf. also chs. 32-36.

⁶⁷ The account of the Formalists here given is largely drawn from Abert's *Die Lehre vom Ethos, etc.*, pp. 27-43. The position is also briefly summarized by Abert, "Die Stellung der Musik in der Antiken Kultur," *Die Antike*, vol. 2 (1926), pp. 140 ff. Cf. also Abert, *Die Musik der Griechen*, in his *Gesammelte Schriften und Vorträge* (1929).

manuscript disputes the claims that music imitates character much in the same manner as Philodemus. For, says this author, "Who is there who does not know that the Aetolians and Dolopes, and all the folk round Thermopylae use a diatonic system of music, and yet are braver than the tragedians who are regularly accustomed to the enharmonic scale?"⁶⁸ From such an argument it does not follow necessarily, as the opponents of the ethos-theory maintained, that music does not imitate character. At best this argument can show that the ethos of any given scale is no conclusive index of the entire character of the group in which such a scale is prevalent.

According to Philodemus, music is in itself a combination of sound and rhythm, and has a purely external, physical nature bearing as little internal relation to human feelings as cookery. Music can imitate nothing, and is without influence upon the soul either for good or evil. Where song appears to move the hearer, it is really the poetic text which produces this effect, and not the sound. The religious influence of music, too, passes through poetry rather than the music proper, as is also the case with love songs and drinking songs. The sole purpose of music is to give pleasure and relaxation, hence the entire system of ideas arising out of the view that music has ethical character is false, and its educational and purgative values are misplaced.

* * *

This essay comes to a close with a few bare hints at connections between ancient musical aesthetics and recent thought on the nature of music. The ethos-theory in some form or other has probably always existed. Professor Hugo Leichtentritt has recently shown in *The Musical Quarterly* some facts about Handel's tonalities that reveal a practice similar to the Greek use of modes according to their ethos.⁶⁹ Amply fortified with examples, Professor Leichtentritt shows that "Handel ascribed a distinct emotional force"⁷⁰ to each one of the keys, which he used consistently to express these emotions. For example, "F minor is

⁶⁸ This MS is translated in "The Hibeh Papyri," Part I, London, 1906, p. 48, by B. P. Grenfell and A. J. Hunt. It is succinctly discussed in J. F. Mountford's contribution to "New Chapters in Greek Literature", Second Series (1929), pp. 181-182. See also Abert's remarks on this find and his translation of the MS into German: Hermann Abert, *Ein neuer musikalischer Papyrusfund* in *Zeitschrift der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1906, pp. 79-83.

⁶⁹ H. Leichtentritt, "Harmonic Art of Handel," in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 21 (1935), pp. 208-219.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

the key generally chosen to express profound sadness, F-sharp minor denotes tragedy," etc.⁷¹ This is to modern music what the ascription of ethos to each mode was to ancient. An investigation of the practice of composers over the entire history of music on these lines probably would essentially confirm the ethos-theory of the Greeks.

However, one cannot think of the ethos-theory without recollecting Hanslick's onslaught upon this sort of conception of music.⁷² It would require a separate article to open the question of how much validity there may be in each of these views. For our purposes, however, I should like to indicate briefly those points in our account at which the ancients approach the absolutist conception of music.

In his specific ideas on music Plato is perhaps the farthest removed from the view that music is essentially a well-ordered sensuous structure of tone, for he explains the beautiful in music wholly in terms of the virtue of the dispositions it imitates. On the other hand Aristotle comes closer to expressing the self-sufficiency of musical enjoyment of which modern musicians are more keenly aware than the ancients appear to have been. For Aristotle holds that music is one of the liberal, intellectual pursuits (*διαγωγή*) that are self-sufficient. But Aristoxenus came even closer to an understanding of the specific internal nature of music than any other theorist of antiquity. After all, the *διαγωγή* of Aristotle was a general term applying equally to that self-sufficiency attached to the association of friends, or to thought itself. Aristoxenus saw concretely that music was essentially a matter of auditory discrimination, and that music was an organic structure of sound, as he maintained in the idea that each note of a composition performed some function in the whole. To him music was an art of sensuous dynamics, and by advancing this technical conception of music perhaps for the first time Aristoxenus showed his genius as a theorist.

It should not be inferred that Aristoxenus' adherence also to the view that music imitated human character involved him in any inconsistency with this acute technical analysis of music. For it could be maintained that, while music is a sensuous, dynamic structure of sound and a cumulative compounding of sound and rhythm, this structure at the same

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁷² It might be interesting to point out that Hanslick was not as well-informed on ancient musical aesthetics as he should have been. He wrote: "Though the idea of *motion* appears to us a most far-reaching and important one, it has hitherto been conspicuously disregarded in all enquiries into the nature and action of music." ("The Beautiful in Music", p. 38). The ethos-theory in Plato and others was in fact founded precisely upon a similarity of the motions of music with those of the soul. E. g., see above, p. 156.

time represents ethical character through a similarity in its dynamic aspects with human feeling. But this is a large question into which I cannot venture here. Of all the theorists of antiquity, the most extreme in their denial of any ethical or emotional character of music were the Formalists. So far as we can ascertain, they did not possess that comprehensive and well-articulated knowledge and insight that Aristoxenus had. Somewhat in the manner of Hanslick, they looked upon music as a special, self-contained activity. Their view was more extreme than that of Hanslick, for they held that music could not produce emotion. It was the text, rather than the music proper, that had this effect. Hanslick, far from denying the power of music to evoke emotion, affirmed it very strongly, and he also maintained that music had a dynamic aspect in common with emotions. To the Formalists, music was no more nor less than a structure of sound and rhythm, neither itself possessing a pathetic element nor evoking it in human beings.

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BERNARD VAN DIEREN

By EDGAR DAVIS

ONLY TWO YEARS after his death, Bernard van Dieren preserves, as a creative genius, the half-tragic, half-splendid inviolability which characterized the quarter century of his musical life. In October, 1936, he was accorded the favor of a memorial concert; and this, in the case of another composer, might have heralded the usual amount of posthumous attention. Not so with van Dieren. His friends—a compact, stalwart body—retired, we can assume, with their convictions strengthened; the musical public as a whole remained—alas!—loudly and irresponsibly apart. For loudness and irresponsibility seem to be the distinguishing features of the new, the popular approach to art.

It is no longer possible to accuse the public of apathy: we are witnessing, rather, an unwholesome, a spurious activity. In particular, the mechanical dissemination of music has induced a general tarantism—everybody dances, but the tune remains unquestioned and, indeed, for the most part unheard. If, as Sidney asserts in his "Arcadia", "ease is the nurse of poetrie", then poetry has gone from the world and van Dieren sings to no avail. He is a quietist philosopher. His music calls a halt—it demands, primarily, a contemplative attitude. Meanwhile, around us, the infernal dance protracts itself; and the studied restraint of this great artist seems to belong, irretrievably, to another age.

Critical opinion, in the face of van Dieren's music, has invariably confounded itself. This exceedingly complex and individual art cannot be file-indexed; the flimsiest of pretexts have been seized upon as a basis for disapprobation. The composer has been rallied, for instance, on a lack of *Zeitgeist*—setting Heine in these days, we are asked to believe, necessarily betokens a polite satire or an impolite aesthetic. And the amount of profitless observation is truly appalling. If a five-note phrase in the first movement of the Third String Quartet reminds you of the *Marche au Supplice*, why bother to pass the information on when "nothing could have been less like Berlioz than this first movement . . . ?"

Cecil Gray, in his "Survey of Contemporary Music", did not hesitate to place van Dieren among the great masters of music. He qualified,

however, the seeming boldness of this assertion by prophesying for the works a perennially small audience. He could not foresee—in fact, he did not care to foresee—van Dieren achieving the status of a popular classic, as it were. And, in all truth, when one knows this music, the fastidious intellect of which it was the expression, so dire a notion is seen to be completely absurd. But Mr. Gray, in the interests of his argument, might have pursued the matter further. Dropping it, as he did, he implied that, whilst it was possible to concede van Dieren the title of genius, the qualitative aspect of this genius was such as to render it of more than usually limited portent.

We are perhaps too charitable, on the whole, to the bulk of concert-goers; too prone to take for granted certain seemingly gratifying propclivities, such as the much publicized Bach enthusiasm—at the moment, it appears, as symptomatic of the English race as night-starvation and the indulgence of synthesized beer. A moment's reflection, however, might well modify this Utopian aspect of things. Men must needs love the highest when they see it, but this hypermetropic faculty is, fortunately or otherwise (the question is abstract), an aristocratic preserve. Those who know their Bach will agree that this popular emotion, this Queen's-Hall fever, is both spurious and misdirected. If the Margrave of Brandenburg's commissioned masterpieces were adequately performed, it would still remain a fact that the true Bach is enshrined elsewhere. The genius of the organ chorales shares a neglect comparable, almost, to that which besets van Dieren. These great works, with the exception of a score or so of the more immediately "pretty" examples, do not as a rule appeal to organists. Also, Beethoven's pugilistic attitude toward the absolute has won for him a massy following, whose allegiance is wholly confined to the master in his more spectacular exploits. The great A minor quartet, the last pianoforte sonata—these winnowed, spiritualized impulses still preserve their aristocratic immunity from the ravages of a potential "artistic democracy"; a chimera, incidentally, that should inspire the true artist with a very wholesome dread. Instances of this kind could be multiplied; but, already, the fact would seem to have emerged that van Dieren's posterity need not necessarily be so much smaller than that accorded to the more significant work of the accepted masters.

Van Dieren owes his obscurity, his escape from popular esteem, to his quiet intensity of method: finding its source in a profound awareness of tradition. His technique, for all its subtlety, lacks a peg whereon the

critics might hang their aspirations toward a classified aesthetic. At no time flatly subversive, van Dieren has moulded the resources of the past to his own advantage, and defied the systematists. The public at large, lacking a definitive lead from one or the other of the recognized pundits, cannot be expected to indulge a hypocrisy that would be likely to yield meagre return from the intellectuality-snobs who foregather for the bandying of clichés during the intervals of concerts and recitals.

It has already been remarked that the music of van Dieren cannot be file-indexed. A critical dissertation should aim, rather, at isolating certain predominant features of his art. Thenceforth, it is for the reader to acquaint himself with the scores and to draw his own conclusions thereby.

Van Dieren is not an "atonalist". True, the works are often without signature, and the key-feeling is sometimes errant and, for long stretches, in more or less complete abeyance. But never for a moment does one receive an impression of deliberate revolt. In a sense, van Dieren's key-practice is retrospective: it partakes of the elusive quality so often met with among the madrigalists—and the intensely personal appeal of van Dieren is due, in part, to his avoidance of deliberate key-statement. Like Busoni, he pivots between major and minor tonalities (though his harmonic contexts do not, as is almost invariably the case with Busoni, emphasize this vacillation); his chordal progressions are sometimes disturbingly concise; he can employ a chromatic polyphony whose waywardness is such as to set up the most surprising relationships. But, actually, there is nothing indecisive in the manner of this *chiaroscuro*. It is the logical outcome of an infinite technical resource and an intellect whose agility is only matched by its eclecticism. Often, van Dieren works on a frankly tonal basis. The song, "Balow" (1925), for instance, modulates through a variety of stated keys; and this key-sequence imparts a shifting light to the emotional range of the poem in a most spontaneous and wholly delightful manner. The "Netherlands Melodies" (1927) is a set of twelve diatonic folk-tunes, simply and sensitively harmonized. In passing, it should be mentioned that this little cycle is of unique value, in view of the utterly individual treatment accorded to the material. Whilst merging completely into van Dieren's beguiling personality, the melodies yet preserve their ingenuous ease. And the variety of styles, assumed by the composer with his customarily nonchalant brilliance, is almost disturbing. "Berceuse", the first of the set, is a twilight landscape steeped in autumnal mists; tentative, shadowy chromatics move beneath

the song, enhancing its tranquillity. "Diabelliescamente" sparkles with Latinate zest. There is a *quasi gagliarda* movement of forceful, almost bucolic character; and a final *pesante* of faintly ecclesiastical quality, harmonized with sombre dignity. Each has its own inimitable charm which grows upon one increasingly.

In the "Variations for Pianoforte" (1928), the E-flat major of the theme is predominant—although it moves within a shifting web of chromatic and related subsidiaries. The setting of Goethe's "Epiphanias" is altogether retrospective in style. And the exceedingly lovely "Rondel", to a poem of Charles Valois, states D major and keeps it at an intriguing distance, winding up on the dominant. The key procedure in this song is of especial interest; and its contrapuntal felicities, its Gallic airiness and grace, demand the title of masterpiece.

The absence of an atonal lead left the critics with an assortment of dubious alternatives. Van Dieren was dubbed reactionary, on the strength of his inveterate habit of composing without bar lines. (In printed score, these have often been inserted, to facilitate performance.) "Anarchy," we were told, "is incompatible with elaboration". It seems to have been chastely imagined that the Tudor music, for example, was gestated complete with the fixed bayonets of modern decree.

Syllogistically, the Tudors are anarchists, since they failed to anticipate the general practice of a politer age. But this is too extravagant!

It is abundantly clear that the music of van Dieren has been found accentually vague—"the music has been described as serene, but it is often the serenity of a fainting fit . . ." Which statement prompts the fundamental question: what, precisely, constitutes rhythmically vital music?

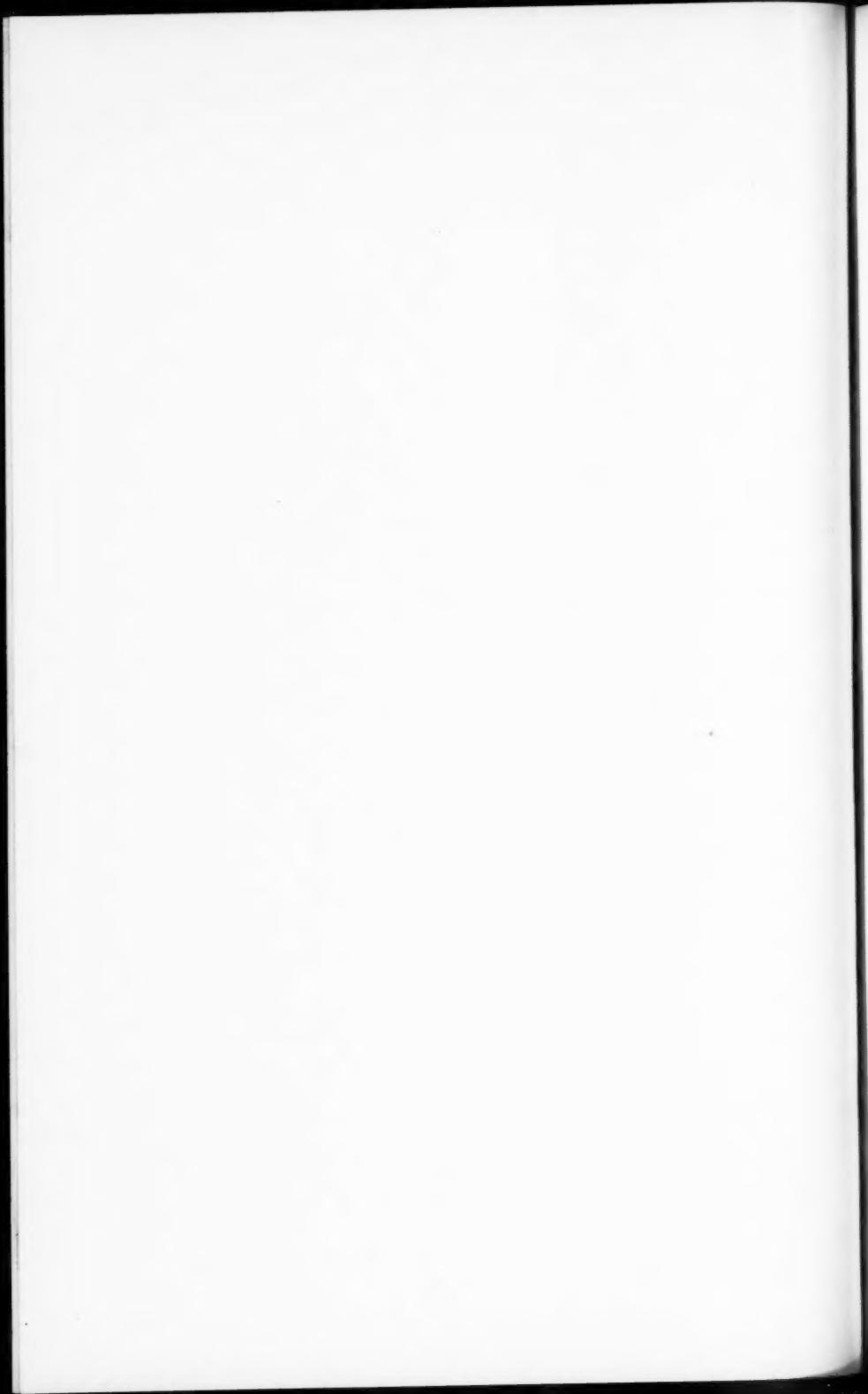
The existence of mechanical periods cannot of itself imbue a work with true rhythmic vitality; and the unnatural emphasis of these periods, in actual performance, is fraught with much danger. I once had the misfortune to attend on a Bach society's conception of the master's eight-part motet, "Sing ye". The conductor was quite feral in his insistence on mechanical accent; but the natural phrase periods, the so-to-speak poetic caesurae, went utterly by the board. The result was a triumph of vulgarity to which the artistic democracy could have thumped its fists and tapped its feet, with all the unholy pleasure attendant upon "keeping in time".

This, then, is not vital accent. And, in regard to music scoring itself, it can not be conceded that the third Brandenburg concerto, shall



Bernard van Dieren
(1884-1935)

After a drawing by Benjamin V. Corea



we say, possesses greater rhythmic vitality than does the smaller of the two G major organ preludes on *An Wasserflüssen Babylons*, for no other reason than that the former work is the readier victim to spurious accent. The emphasis of bar periods is, as it happens, almost impossible on the organ; but, were this not the case, the overlapping phrases in Bach's treatment of the chorale would render such emphasis artistically invalid. And in the modern scorings of the Elizabethan madrigals, there is extended scope for misdemeanors of the same order.

The more avowedly elaborate and extensive the polyphony, the more correspondingly inept the bar line tends to become. The general use of bar-lines emerged out of a homophonic piling-up of the old technique: the politely autonomous strands of the contrapuntalists by degrees relinquished their independence. A punctuation *in toto*, therefore, was legitimately adopted.

In the case of a true polyphonist, such as van Dieren essentially is, the adoption of bar-lines might, very easily, become syntactically false. He could not hope to accord equal justice to the emotional periods of a four or five part polyphony by maintaining a regular flow of bar-periods (or, for that matter, an alternating series). But this absence of established metre need not disturb the sensitive performer—who can be expected to adjust himself, and the faculties of his listeners, to a prose rhythm. Van Dieren's inclusion of bar-lines is a more or less supererogatory gesture, and his initial practice, consequently, far removed from anarchy.

For the most part, van Dieren is a prose technician. His melodies do not dispose themselves into metrical forms: the accents are determined, primarily, by the emotional significance of the tones. His music, in its pattern and wealth of dynamic indication, seeks to establish natural anacrusts, as it were; or extra-metrical periods. To a musician of intelligence, this prose technique, if unfamiliar, should be compelling and understandable. Van Dieren's accent is none the less vital for being free; the "Hydriotaphia" of Sir Thomas Browne, after all, shows a rhythmic *élan* hard to parallel in poetry.

Van Dieren often works on what is seen to be a metrical basis (the last movement of the third string quartet, with its cosmopolitan treatment of folk-material, is strongly metrical); but as a general rule, the music tends to resolve itself into natural prose periods. The "Variations for Pianoforte" is for ever melting into a prose rhythm of miraculous plasticity. And it is the sinuous grace and flexible movement of van

Dieren's rhythm that makes the accusation of flaccidity at once inept and incomprehensible.

When confessing to an admiration for the music of van Dieren greater than that extended to the work of any of his contemporaries, one is expected—reasonably enough—to adduce arguments in favor of one's belief. Comparatively speaking, the music is still unknown: so bold a valuation may well sound impolite. But Truth, as Blake informs us, "can never be told so as to be understood and not be believed"—and the music of van Dieren is alone capable of bringing about that understanding, of telling the whole Truth. The "understanding" of an argument is necessarily incomplete because, to some extent, abstract. However, certain personal reflections might not be amiss by way of conclusion.

In orientating van Dieren, the usual set terms and comparisons, it must be once again insisted, cannot be invoked. If the nearest master is Delius (with whom there is a measure of harmonic affinity), the psychologies are yet vastly different. Van Dieren is often felt to be more poignant than Delius: but this greater measure of grief springs, in fact, from the stronger spirit of the two. Van Dieren's melancholy is less frail and, whilst more probing, austere by virtue of that mystical acceptance which governs the emergence of great art. (Perhaps the only great artist whose music does not resolve into some sort of certainty of ultimate truth and goodness, some quasi-religious assent, is the eldritch Busoni; and it is significant that his finest work always gropes toward this certainty, and always—alas!—falls short of it.)

Again, van Dieren's diversity of front baffles the would-be systematist. The vocal works alone vouch for an utter mastery of many techniques. Take, for instance, the sonnet "Fayre Eies" from Spenser's *Amoretti*: a tenor setting, with a consort of eleven instruments—including basset-horn. Here we see a splendid recrudescence of that old dramatic mastery, that textual translation so characteristic of the Elizabethans. Van Dieren is in accord with every variance of Spenser's emotion. "Then do I die," says the poet, "as one with lightning fyred": and the quietly mournful polyphony leaps into incandescence with a figuration that might have been merely French, but happened to be van Dieren! The lambent quality of this work, its astonishing technical resource, its sheer beauty of sound might well be unparalleled. The Spenser sonnet should certainly take its place among the supreme achievements in chamber music.

"Ballade de Villon"—for recitation with string quartet—exploits a

serene and utterly individual homophony; "Der Asra" intensifies a similar practice. "Chanson", a Boileau setting, and one of the most penetratingly, disturbingly beautiful songs (though the pianoforte accompaniment is so subtle, dynamically, as to be virtually unplayable), is more French than Fauré. "Epiphanias" is unmistakably Teutonic; and in numerous settings of Landor and the early English lyricists, van Dieren proves himself deftly at home in the country of his adoption.

The instrumental compositions, too, are bewildering in their catholicity of style. The elusive "Diafonia" (a sequence of Shakespeare sonnets for baritone voice and chamber orchestra), the immensely bracing comedy overture "Anjou", the mordant String Quartet No. 6—these are but three aspects of that astounding intellect; an intellect too vital ever to strike the same posture twice. And one cannot mention the sixth quartet without remembering that, in its *Molto Sostenuto*, van Dieren writes a slow movement which might put to shame the entire post-Beethoven achievement in that direction, with the solitary exception of Bartók. Van Dieren's melodic genius was seldom more consummately displayed.

The bigger works—including two symphonies and an opera—share, as might be expected, the obscurity of the smaller. One cannot even hope for their ultimate popularity. But, in view of their unique genius, some sort of attention is bound, sooner or later, to become focused upon them. And if, as Mr. Richard Capell once hinted, the music of Bernard van Dieren represents "an excursion into a byway of music"—well, then, let us paraphrase Blake but slightly: "Improvement demands straight roads, but the crooked roads without improvement are the roads of Genius".

THE ORIGINS OF HARMONY¹

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AN OLD ST. ANDREWS MS.

By THE VERY REV. DOM ANSELM HUGHES, O.S.B.

IN ANY SPHERE OF KNOWLEDGE, the origins have an interest all their own. In music, the origins of rhythm, of the scale as we know it, of pure music as separated from the dance and the song and the march, are matters of fascinating study. Questions of the ultimate origins of melody, rhythm, scale, pure music, take us back into the ages of pre-history where, in the absence of all but the scantiest definite evidence, much of the argument must in the nature of things be inductive. In plain language, much has to be guesswork—good and accurate guessing, perhaps, but none the less conjectural, and difficult of absolute proof. But with the origins of harmony it is not so; we can date events, and study manuscripts and photographs, and (still more valuable as an enlightenment to the understanding) help ourselves on by the actual re-creation of the music as it was performed eight or nine hundred years ago. And yet there are gaps, where the inductive and conjectural faculties have to be brought into play; so that this particular study not only has the special charm of archaeology, bringing to light again that which has been buried for centuries and (but for our efforts) is dead, but also enjoys that security which belongs to work definitely historical, documented, and studied by processes of thought which are deductive.

Our dates are easy to remember. Just five hundred years ago opens the great classical period of vocal harmony; Dunstable, the first great name in the history books, was leading the "First Flemish School" of composers (he died in 1453); and at the beginning of the 16th century vocal music had reached a point of complexity in technique, coupled with artistic insight and perfection, which endured for the best part of a century and has never since been surpassed.

Working back from the year 1500, the five centuries lying behind—the centuries of the development of Gothic architecture—were centuries

¹ Being the substance of a lecture delivered before The Musical Society of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, on November 13, 1936.

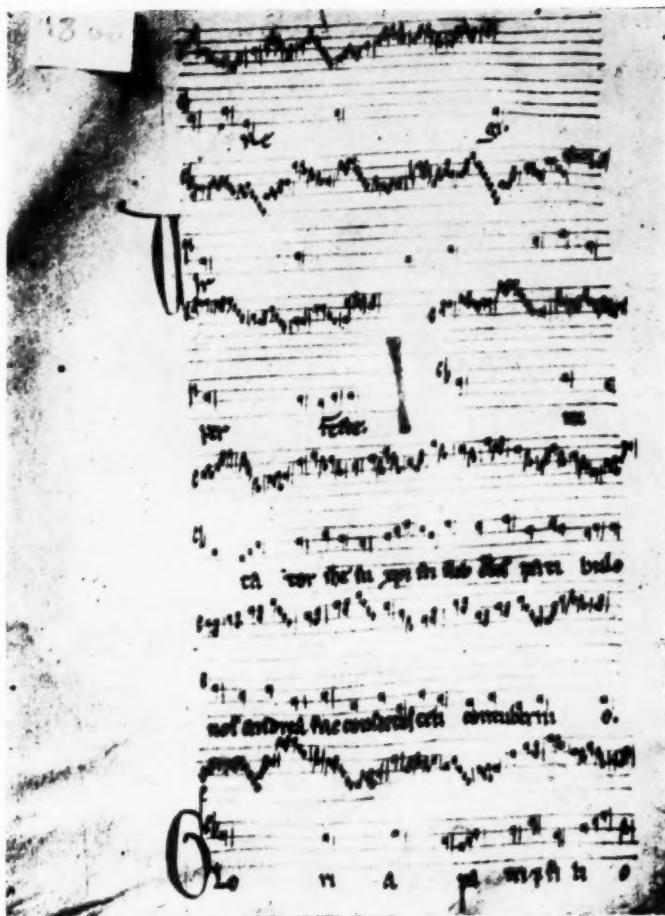
of a widespread, methodical, academic, patient and brilliant exploration of the art of writing in parts. Midway in these five centuries was written the St. Andrews manuscript which is dealt with in detail later on; but we must go back to the year 1000 to take our first cross-section. There are many MSS. at Paris, brought there from Limoges, dating back to 1000 or even 975; and one from Mainz even a few years earlier; one at Oxford, one at Cambridge, besides sundry items of similar dates in other places. What was the position of musical composition in the year 1000?

First and foremost, in answering this question, we have to bear in mind the general course of the history of civilization in Europe during the preceding centuries, the Dark Ages which had followed the collapse of the Roman Empire; and to remember how the torch of learning was kept alight in the monasteries—learning: which is not the same thing as music. The two may exist separately, without reference to one another; but when they meet, we may expect results. Music was existing everywhere in Europe in the Dark Ages, for man cannot live without music. Now music is an essential and integral part in the life of a monastery; so that in the monasteries music came into contact with learning: and we have results.

These results are seen, notably, in two directions; in the invention of musical notation, an event of supreme importance in the history of music, about which I have spoken elsewhere; and in the growth of the art of combining, with interesting and euphonious effect, two or more choral songs in simultaneous performance; in other words, vocal harmony. Not that vocal harmony was never used outside the monastery; but where it was so used outside it has left no trace for us beyond scattered references, and has not developed into a science. Troubadour music, for example, is essentially a matter of rhythm and melody; its harmonic treatment is derived from Church music. For our present purpose, therefore, the enquiry must be in the first place almost entirely ecclesiastical.

The ecclesiastical music of the year 1000 was the Gregorian Chant. This is not the place to give a description of the Gregorian system or to enter upon its technicalities. But it will be necessary to say a few words about the repertoire, and about the spirit in which men regarded the chant; and the latter first. Men regarded it with reverence, as something handed down in an authentic and received text; in the same way that the *ipsissima verba* of the King James translation of the Bible were regarded in England during the nineteenth century, so were the

ipsissimae notulae of the Gregorian music regarded in the year 1000; a fact borne out by the scrupulous accuracy with which they were preserved in identical form from Vienna to Scotland, from Sicily to Upsala, during the course of centuries. It was not lawful to tamper with the Gregorian chant: it was at least temerarious to write new chants, even if a new festival was added to the calendar with a new service to be sung; and usually in such cases old music was arranged to the new words. But men had to make music: what were they to do? Now for the repertoire. New music was written (I say "written", though it was often memorized for long periods before being committed to writing, the neumatic system in use before 1000 being merely an aid to memory, not a "score") for the Ordinary of the Mass—Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei; and apparently enough was in existence. Then what next? There was one point in the Mass, between the Epistle and Gospel, where it was traditional for the singers to expand; and since the time of St. Gregory (probably very soon after) an addition had already been made at this point in the form of a Verse to the Alleluia. Here was a precedent; and here the musicians began to add tunes at the end of the last Alleluia (which had been repeated after its Verse), using its opening notes as the theme or motif of their new tune. This new tune was at first wordless, but later on words came to be added to the melodies, probably in order to help the memory. The musical phrases were repeated twice, once on each side of the choir, and a final phrase was sung in chorus by both sides. The repetitions of the phrase are frequently developments of the original theme in various ways; analogous to the variation form. One of these methods of development took the form of throwing up the melody by the interval of a fifth in the scale. What happens now? Just this, that the range of the melody is increased beyond what is comfortable for the ordinary baritone voice. And if we think back into the time when there was nothing but unison singing, we shall realize that in fact all the voices were baritones, some with a bass tendency, others with a tenor bias. But there was no subdivision of a choir into tenors and basses; there was no need for it, and consequently no development of low notes by some men and high notes by others. Gregorian chant does not require this; all it seems to ask for is the range of about an octave and a third for the chorus, and for the soloist of the Gradual to have two or three notes extra at the upper end of his range. But this new type of music, this new melody, to which the name of Sequela was given, makes the *chorus* go up to G or A or higher; and it must have been



Facsimile of Folio 18 (verso) of the St. Andrews MS. showing the Responsory *Imitator Jesu Christi* (see pps. 181-2)

From "An Old St. Andrews Music Book", Prof. J. H. Baxter, *editor*; Oxford University Press, London; reprinted by permission of the publishers and the University of St. Andrews



Facsimile of Folio 71 (recto) of the St. Andrews MS. showing the Students' Song *Hac in anni janua* (see pp. 183-4)

From "An Old St. Andrews Music Book", Prof. J. H. Baxter, *editor*; Oxford University Press, London; reprinted by permission of the publishers and the University of St. Andrews

necessary almost at once for voices to be classified high or low, and therefore to develop their range and power at one end or the other, and, by consequence, to lose range and power at the opposite end. So that we have voices of alto and tenor and bass description coming into existence: and we can almost see across the gulf which separates Unison from Harmony. Moving to another point of the bank and looking across, consider this custom of repeating the variation at the interval of a fifth. What happens if we leap the gulf with a guess, and listen to a formation in which the tenors and the basses each sing their own part simultaneously? *Exactly what is described by the earliest theorists*, Otger and the others, the singing of Organum in parallel fifths. And our feet land on unexpectedly sure ground; for if we gather up from the MSS. the earliest specimens which remain of this primitive vocal harmony, and study the words to which they are sung, we find that in the majority of cases they are words which are especially fitted to these Sequela-tunes (Sequences, they had come to be called), such as *Verbum bonum et suave* for example; and of the others, many belong to that family which is first cousin, if not the actual parent, of the Sequence texts, the family of Tropes (or interpolations in a liturgical text) such as the Kyrie-trope *Cunctipotens*, for example.

* * *

Our next cross-section must be about 250 years later; that is, half-way between the Sequela and the developed writing of Fayrfax and Ludford, the immediate progenitors of Tye and Taverner and Tallis and Byrd. The scene shifts to Paris. In the ordinary textbooks we can read about the Paris School of Notre-Dame, with Léonin and Pérotin at the head; their manuscripts survive, and with them are a certain number of derived manuscripts, at Madrid, Bamberg, and so on; and at least one from St. Andrews.

The external history of the St. Andrews Ms. is, very briefly, that it was already in the possession of the priory of St. Andrews in the 14th century, having been written either in the early part of that century, or in the later half of the 13th (Handschin dates the *music* at 1150-1300); in the 16th century it was acquired on behalf of a Wittenberg professor and well-known collector, Flacius Illyricus, and thence descended to the Wolfenbüttel Library, where it is now MS 677 (Helmst. 628). Here we have one of the related, and largely descended, offshoots of the Notre-

Dame family. The exact relation between the various quires or gatherings of the Ms. and the more substantial and central Paris Ms. (now at Florence) has been elaborately examined by Jacques Handschin in the *Musical Times* (London) for June 1932 and August 1933. Without committing myself to accepting all that he says, I am prepared to follow him in the main, and to express my acknowledgment to him here. Broadly speaking, we are confronted with a local variant of a general type of music, the polyphony of the 13th century. Into the question of difference between the St. Andrews version and the Paris version of musical items common to both manuscripts, there is no opportunity here to enquire; the matter, to be studied at all, must be studied, and *exhibited*, on a comprehensive scale; for our present purpose it will be sufficient to pick out for mention what is found only at St. Andrews, and in examining our examples, to add a few remarks about the academic type of the music.

What are the parts described sometimes as "insular", that is, of Scotch or English origin? There seems to be no reason for thinking them to be English; they do not coincide with what little we have of English remains from this period any more closely than with the French, except for the occurrence of the tropes of Our Lady's Mass *Salve sancta parens* at Worcester a hundred years later. Of these insular parts, the eleventh and last fascicle (supposed by the late Friedrich Ludwig, the greatest of the scholars who have dealt with the St. Andrews Ms., to be the earliest) contains a set of these tropes. From this 11th fascicle some examples are printed in the *Musical Times* for August 1933. Secondly, Handschin distinguishes a "series of Sanctus and Agnus tropes which, though they are not assembled in one fascicle, are obviously uniform in style. Here again the English origin of the compositions is indicated by different circumstances". Handschin gives no references enabling us to follow up this claim. And there is a third and very interesting part, though a small one, consisting of two responsories for the feast of St. Andrews, entirely local and peculiar to this Ms. One of these, *Imitator Jesu Christi*, was then sung, accompanied by violins for the upper "voice" (see pps. 181-2, also Illustration facing p. 178). A second example is a secular University song (*Hac in anni janua*), dealing with the delight of settling down to work after a Christmas vacation, and the pious resolves of the students to behave nicely (see pps. 183-4, also Illustration facing p. 179).²

² This example was also performed on November 13, 1936 by three sets of voices, interludes following on violins and 'cello, and the whole repeated with voices and instruments.

Imitator Jesu Christi

Responsoy for Two Voices*

From the St. Andrews MS.
(13th century)
(MS. Wolfenbüttel 677, f. 18v)

Transcribed by
Dom Anselm Hughes
and transposed upwards a tone

A musical score for four voices (SATB) in G major and common time. The score consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a bass clef. The lyrics are written below the staves, corresponding to the musical phrases. The score includes dynamic markings such as p (piano) and f (forte), and a double bar line with repeat dots.

**

I -

(I) - mi -

- ta - - - - tor

Je - - - su Chri -

*The upper "voice" is best played on a stringed instrument.

** If this note be too long for sustaining, the sound may be held as a drone by an instrumentalist, in which case the singer should start at bar 7.

sti — sub — cru — cis

pa — ti — - - bu — - - lo, —

— nos, An — dre — a, fac

con — sor — tes coe — li con — -

tu — ber — ni — - - - - 0.

Hac in anni janua Students' Song*

For Three Equal Voices
(Men's Voices, an octave lower)
(*a cappella*)

From the St. Andrews MS.
(13th century)
(MS. Wolfenbüttel 677, f. 74)

Transcribed by
Dom Anselm Hughes
and transposed upwards a minor seventh

Soprano I (Tenor)

Soprano II (Baritone)

Alto (Bass)

*Note for singing. The form  ("plica") is distinct from the ordinary ; it should be performed by *leaving the vowel* sound when the second, small note is reached and changing over to the *consonant* sound, which in these cases has always a tiny duration of sound in itself. Thus, the first occurrence (bar 1, voice 2) might be written . At "tendamus" (bar 5, voice 2) the "s" must be used very gently indeed. But when (as at the end of bar 2, voice 3 the syllable ends without a consonant, the vowel sound must of course be maintained, the second, small note being sung very lightly.

gau-di - a sunt mu-tu - a, mu-to_ fa-cto vi - ti - o
 gau-di - a sunt mu-tu - a, mu-to_ fa-cto vi - ti - o
 gau-di - a sunt mu-tu - a, mu-to_ fa-cto vi - ti - o

re-pro-bo - rum fa - tu - a re-pro-ba-tur_ a - cti - o.
 re-pro-bo - rum fa - tu - a re-pro-ba-tur_ a - cti - o.
 re-pro-bo - rum fa - tu - a re-pro-ba-tur_ a - cti - o.

**Symphony

**This symphony may be played instrumentally, or may be vocalized on "o"

The examples of St. Andrews music which have actually been performed once more in their original habitat, after a silence of perhaps 700 years, have a freshness and vigor which is unmistakable. Sonority of melody and suavity of rhythm seem to be their distinguishing features: as with all other old music, they are intensely musical in the sounding, far more so than when merely read on paper, or even played on a keyboard instrument. This is mainly owing to the frequent crossing of the parts, so that the individuality of the various rhythms can only be heard and appreciated in actual performance. It cannot be too often said, at the risk of repeating what is (we hope) coming to be a commonplace, that musical research fails of its object if the actual music is not brought to life again; and that when it is so brought to life, we have the double satisfaction of unearthing a buried treasure on the one hand, and enriching the musical life of our own generation on the other.

This St. Andrews Ms. is a mine well worth exploring; and it is made easy of access by the publication, under the editorship of Prof. J. H. Baxter, D.Litt., of a facsimile edition with a copious introduction (Oxford University Press). In this introduction will be found many bibliographical details which have been purposely omitted in this paper, to save the unnecessary time of working over the same ground twice. The notation is, of course, difficult; once the theory has been grasped, there is another rather discouraging period during which one has to discover, by trial and error, how far the scribe is using the official notation of his time, so far as it can be gathered from contemporary theorists, and how far he is using a straight Gregorian script which has to be interpreted in terms of the rhythm of the text. Once this period is over, however, one becomes more and more steeped in the system of the scribe, and more and more sure of having the right interpretation of his music. We must not (as some have done) transcribe 13th century music by 14th century rules; we must find our way right into the spirit of the 13th. And when we are there, we shall find the notation distinctly easier than that of the 15th century, the age of puzzles and enigmas and mystifications. In the St. Andrews Ms. we come far nearer to the natural directness which is the soul of true art.

OLD MISSION MUSIC*

By ANNA BLANCHE McGILL

IN 1602, by order of Philip III of Spain, an "armada"—as a contemporary chronicle terms it—sailed from Acapulco, on the south coast of Mexico, to spy out the islands of the Pacific Ocean and the "great realm of California." A musical enterprise, inspired by the voyage, has novel interest.

Among the two hundred passengers aboard, many of them of high degree, was a cosmographer, apparently of musical tastes, an official scribe of the scouting party, Fray Antonio de la Ascención. He seems to have set store by his proficiency in cosmography, "having studied that art and science in the University of Salamanca, where I was born and reared."

Fray Antonio's systematic mind is revealed in his vivid and orderly report of the riches, temperate climate, and advantages to the Spanish crown to be found in the "great realm of California." His imagination evidently took fire over a project for the musical education of California redskins. Herbert Eugene Bolton, of the University of California, historian of the Southwest, quotes in his "Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, Original Narratives of Early American History, 1542-1706", the following paragraph in Fray Antonio's report:

And it would be well to bring from New Spain [to California] Indian Minstrels, with their instruments and trumpets, that the divine service may be celebrated with solemnity and pomp, and to teach the Indians of the land to sing and play. Likewise it would be well and proper to choose from among the Indians some of the brightest, selecting among the young men and boys such as appear the most docile, talented and capable . . . that they may learn to write and sing, and to play all the musical instruments.

The passage throws into relief not merely Fray Antonio's ambition for the musical training of the California redskins, but also the fact that New Spain in 1602 had native musical talents and organizations:

*For data in the final pages, acknowledgment is made to Sister Joan of Arc, C.D.P., Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas, and to her scholarly work on "Mission Music"; also, to her pamphlet, "Catholic Music and Musicians in Texas," for the facsimile of *Santo Dios* (facing p. 188).

"Indian Minstrels, with their instruments and trumpets," and—shall we say?—choir boys and glee clubs. Fray Antonio evidently considered them a good nucleus and a source of inspiration for similar groups in the "great realm of California."

The gallant project has its naive note: today's long-suffering music masters, martyred in leading the children of their own or somewhat familiar races from Czerny to Stravinsky, may grimly smile at the cosmographer-missionary's confident plans for the musical instruction of a breed as alien to his own as the American Indians. But no qualms perturbed hardy spirits like Fray Antonio, who had sailed to New Spain in cockle-shell boats, to tackle formidable conditions ashore. Battling waves and gales was little, if any, worse than scrambling through cactus, mesquite and other tough vegetation, meeting strange, fearsome beasts and reptiles, pestiferous insects and other perils of the southwestern wilderness of the 1600's. By comparison, teaching the bronze natives to sing, play and shape musical instruments, may have seemed but a holiday enterprise. An encouraging remark in Soli's Diary of the 1700's states that the Indians had good voices, and that it was a delight to hear them.

Since Fray Antonio de la Ascención wrote his report, several régimes have had their day, and have ceased to be in the Southwest. Across the border, on what is now Texas soil, the Star-Spangled Banner has conclusively supplanted five of the six flags that have waved over the region since Spain's banners, with their energetically rampant gold lions, were planted there by the soldier companions of the Spanish padres. The captains and the kings have departed—but old tunes and words, taught by the padres three centuries ago, are still sung by the descendants of their Indian, Mexican, and Spanish music-students and their neighbors. In an age when Broadway "hits" of today are *vieux jeu* tomorrow, it seems something of a marvel that the old mission music should still survive. It is among the reminders of the Southwest's romantic past, which enjoyed a renascence during 1936, when the Lone Star state celebrated its century of independence and made the region, and even outlying sections, distinctly history-minded.

An adventure in juxtapositions was offered at the Texas Centennial Exposition in Dallas when, along with the manifold modern music from radio towers, the ubiquitous cowboy songs, negro spirituals, Sacred Harp songs and old fiddle tunes, gently echoed now and then the mission music, more ancient in the land than the other melodies.

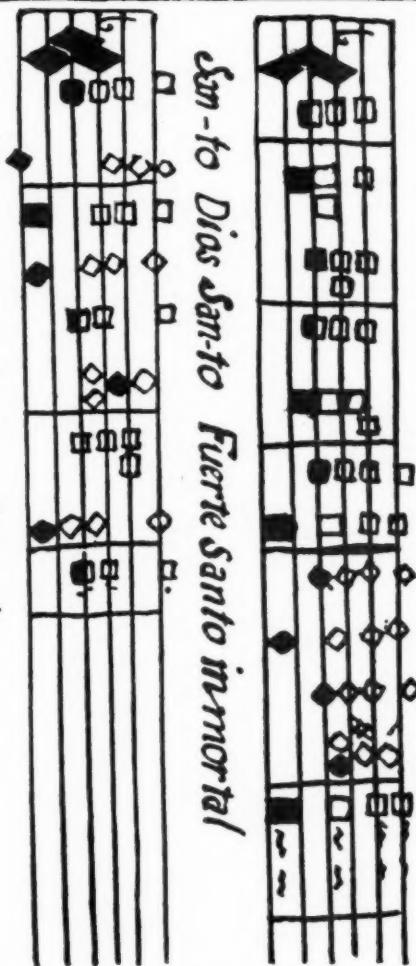
Among the groups which have preserved and transmitted the old mission songs are the Tigua Indians of Ysleta, near El Paso. Termed the oldest permanent settlers within the borders of what is now Texas, the Tiguas arrived in the 1680's, when the Mansos Revolt drove them and their Spanish friends from New Mexico. On July 16, 1936, the Texas State Highway Department erected a granite marker to commemorate the founding of their pueblo and mission at Ysleta in 1682. The Tiguas were guests of honor at the unveiling of the marker. The time-mellowed scene boasts of what is said to be the oldest farm in North America—started by friars in Coronado's train. The "Seven Golden Cities of Cibola", the conquistadores' goal, proved to be but a fatuous dream—but the friars' farm still yields harvests, and the Tiguas still sing the old mission music, especially on the feast of their great patron, St. Anthony. Likewise in his honor, they enact their tribal dances, which the padres wisely left undisturbed.

Descendants of the original Tiguas of Ysleta brought their ancestral songs and dances to the National Folk Festival, a June event of the Texas Centennial Exposition. Colorfully feathered, the men in crimson silk suits, the women in dark one-piece garments, with white sleeves, the skirts richly embroidered above the hems in red, green and yellow, the Tiguas sang their tribal songs and presented their ceremonial dances. An energetic ninety-two years old drummer opened his people's program at the festival. His first tattoo—soft, slow, measured—seemed a gentle incantation, to which the group moved gravely, circling and murmuring. Then drum-beats and motions gained speed and momentum to the click of sticks, the rattling of gourds (containing seeds), and the typical Indian calls—sudden, brief, shrill—till the gay, vital performance proceeded *prestissimo*. The opening number, *El Primer Baile*, it is claimed, was danced by King David—and by the first Texans, the original Tiguas. Ordinarily, every dance on the Tiguas' program lasts about two hours, but may be shortened to fifteen minutes or less.

From the lips of other Indians and those of Mexican and Spanish strain throughout the Southwest, still ring the *Alabado* (Praise to God) and the *Alabanzas* (Praises), taught by the padres. At the National Folk Festival, young girls of Indian, Mexican, and Spanish descent from Our Lady of Guadalupe parish, Dallas, sang a few of these traditional hymns of their people: *Del Cielo Bajó, Corazón Santo, Adios Reina de Cielo*.

As now sung, the words and music of the old "Praises" often echo Mexican, Spanish, and Indian moods and rhythms, ranging from tender,

San-to Dias San-to Fuerte Santo immortal



Li-bran-ros & ñor-de to-do mal

Facsimile of an old Ms. of the Spanish hymn still sung by the Indians
in the San Antonio, Texas, Missions

(see DPs. 190, 193)



intimate feeling for the subjects of the *alabanzas*—especially *Dios* and *Madre María*—to intensities of emotion, as in the rendering of *Corazón Santo*:

Ex. 1

Corazón Santo

With special ardor is sung the line, *Tu nuestro encanto siempre serás*. When an exact translation of *encanto* was asked, one reply was: "Thou wilt always be our *Pet*."

The charm of Annunciations by the Primitives infuses *Qué Preciosas Mañanitas*:

Ex. 2

Qué Preciosas Mañanitas

With grave intensity *Perdón, O Dios Mío* is sung in Lent and at other seasons as a plea for pardon of sins:

Ex. 3

Perdón, O Dios Mío!

Per - don, O — Dios mi - o, Per - don in - dul - gen - cia, Per -
 don y cle - men - cia, Per - don y pie - dad, Per - don y pie - dad:
 ESTROFA
 Per - qué, ya — mi — al - ma Su cul - pa con - fie - sa: Mil
 ve - es me pe - sa, De tan - ta mal - dad, De tan - ta mal - dad.

Santo Dios (see Illustration facing p. 188) has special prestige as a hymn of solace among Southwesterners of Mexican and Spanish blood, in times of private or public calamity. The priest intones the several salutations and the congregations swell the chorus, particularly the plea: *Libranos, Señor, de todo mal*:

Ex. 4

Santo Dios

San - to Dios, San - to Fu - er - te, San - to In - mor - tal,
 Li - bra - nos, Se - ñor, de to - do mal! Vir - gen pu - ra, Vir - gen San - ta,
 Vir - gen y Ma - dre de Dios, Hu - mil - des po - ne - mos la es - pe - ran - za en vos.
 Dé su - bir a los cie - los pa - ra ver a Dios! Dé su - bir a los cie - los y a - la - bar a Dios!

Del Cielo Bajó (From Heaven She Comes) has been a great favorite for centuries with Indians and Mexicans. The hymn recounts the apparition of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* to the Indian boy, Juan Diego. The legend—now popularized in several art-forms, including a puppet-play by a young Kentuckian—evidently captivates fancies beyond the scene of its origin, where it is devoutly cherished.

Ex. 5

Del Cielo Bajó

Del cie - lo ba - jó, del cie - lo ba - jó triun - fan - te yu - fa - na A
 fa - vo - re - cer - nos, A fa - vo - re - cer - nos la Gua - da - lu - pa - na.

In some sections of the Southwest *Del Cielo Bajó* is still sung on the long pilgrimages, sometimes hundreds of miles long, to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The pilgrims set forth a month in advance of her feast day, October twelfth, and beguile the journey with singing, dancing and playing the guitar to the strains of *Del Cielo Bajó*. It may be assumed that, as similarly devout antics of the little jongleur were acceptable to his patron of Notre Dame, so the sprightly pilgrimages of the Indians bring no frowns to *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. According to the legend, she commanded young Juan Diego to have her shrine built on the desolate spot, where her miracle of the roses was token that she would often visit her devoted Indians. One historian states that a hundred thousand Indians took part in the first procession of 1531, when the image of *Nuestra Señora* was transported to her clay chapel at Guadalupe. One wonders how far away resounded the echoes of the pilgrims' voices and guitars.

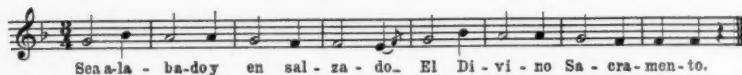
Now that centers of musical education flourish in New York, Chicago, here, there, everywhere, it is perhaps an interesting item in the history of music on our continent that some of the earliest music schools of North America were the seventeenth-century monasteries and missions of New Spain. Twenty-five of the missions had music schools. They abounded in New Mexico before 1630. The making, as well as the playing, of instruments was part of the curriculum—and a good part, it seems. String- and wind-instruments, and other orchestral needs, were

carried overland, from Mexico City northward. El Paso claims to have had the first music teacher in Texas—1659—Fray Garcia de San Francisco. He founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and imparted knowledge of crochets and quavers, along with spiritual instruction, until 1671.

Threatened invasion by the French and Indians caused the removal of several missions to San Antonio. The United States Government has recently assigned \$20,000 for the preservation of the architectural and sculptural treasures of the largest and loveliest—San José de Aguayo. Legend says that its rose window, entrancing masterpiece of carved stone, sometimes echoes strange whispers—the laments of those who failed to avail themselves of their opportunities for education in spiritual and temporal matters.

Whatever failure there may have been can not be ascribed to the founder of San José—that dynamic personality, missionary and music-lover, Fray Antonio Margil. He was born in Valencia, Spain, in 1657. The colleges and missions he founded in Mexico were centers of musical study. "Singing in the wilderness," he trudged his way through what are now Mexico, Louisiana, Texas. A physical ailment prevented his riding horseback. An article in *Mexican Folk Ways* (vol. II, no. 5) cites a contemporary picture of him, striding through the wilds and river-beds, his robe girt up, upholding his crucifix, followed by four Indians, and singing his favorite *alabado*:

Ex. 6



A chronicler of the time refers to the "mystic, profound air," heard on mournful occasions, as well as in peaceful homes and in the fields. The simplicity of the *alabado*, eight measures with a range of five notes, made it easy to learn. Fray Margil made a version for the Aztecs, with additions to the original form.

Viewed in the light of the padres' pedagogic system, the survival of the old mission music seems less surprising than when first considered. Outside of the "Doctrina," it was music that received the greatest attention among all the subjects taught during the mission period. Song was a prime feature of the day's routine in the settlements, where the

mission churches and the presidios or military chapels were community centers.

Regulations for the community's daily life, recorded in the 1700's by Fray Perez Mesquia, state that at dawn morning prayers, set to simple melodies, sometimes to Indian chants, were sung. The day's work in the fields began with morning hymns—more melodious than the *alabado*, being sometimes measured music of a Spanish type. At the end of the day's work, the community—Indians, Mexicans, Spaniards—gathered in the church for the recitation of the "Doctrina" and other devotions. As always, the *alabado* concluded the exercises.

All learned the *Pater Noster*, the *Salve Maria*, and the *Ave Maria*. Men and women sang alternately. As in the days of the Psalmist, in the singing of "The Twelve Apostles" in the Kentucky mountains and elsewhere, and in the old Lining Hymns, effectively sung by negroes at the National Folk Festival in Dallas, a leader often sang the first line of the mission hymns, and the group repeated it and carried the song forward. Gregorian chants are still known to descendants of the early peoples in New Mexico and neighboring regions. Some of the more gifted Indians were taught to sing the more elaborate chants and hymns and to play the flute and guitar.

Singing in four parts—three parts being added to a plain chant melody—seems to have been customary. A quaint sheet, survival of the mission period, shows that colored notes facilitated the reading of the music. The top note was yellow; the next, red; the next, white outlined in black; the lowest note being black (see Illustration facing p. 188).

A commentator on the time and the music says that it was easier to introduce music in some places than in others. The difficulties were lightened where a civilization, stationary homes and the art of building existed—as among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

That some of the old music, taught in the Southland three centuries and a half ago, is still a living tradition may be a heartening reflection to the noble legions elsewhere in the land, as well as in the Southwest, now serving the Heavenly Maid by striving to instill in young breasts some knowledge of her manifold ways and some love for her eternal magic.

LONDON CONCERTS FROM 1700 TO 1750

By HUGH ARTHUR SCOTT

THE BEGINNINGS of London concert giving have been traced in a previous article,¹ bringing the story down to the end of the 17th century. It may now be of interest to give some particulars of its continuation and development in the succeeding period.

In the earlier article it was shown that, a beginning having been made with more or less informal performances in the various taverns and "Musick Houses" (otherwise taverns making a special feature of their musical attractions), the first actual concerts (in the sense of prepared musical performances with charges for admission) were started by John Banister, in 1672, and continued by him and others, with varying degrees of success, down to the end of the century.

These concerts, however, were still given in "ale-house-fashion" (as Roger North put it), with drinking and smoking as supplementary attractions, and it was not until some ten years later that genuine formal concerts, with music as the sole attraction, were tried; nor was the adventitious aid of pipe and glass wholly abandoned for many a long year after. For throughout the whole of the first half of the century a large proportion of the many concerts given continued to be held in the numerous well-appointed and flourishing taverns of the town, which thus continued the traditions of the earlier "Musick Houses".

WHERE CONCERTS WERE GIVEN

The number of different places in which concerts were given at this period was indeed much greater than might be supposed. In the way of actual concert rooms, the most considerable one at the opening of the century was that in York Buildings, Adelphi, where most of the more important concerts were given at that time. In the closing years of the previous century (from 1689 on) there had been another one in Charles Street (now Wellington Street), Covent Garden, sometimes called the *Vendu*, which was much patronized in its day, but after the

¹ "London's Earliest Public Concerts", *The Musical Quarterly*, October, 1936.

year 1695 no further mention of it is to be found, and thenceforward the Villiers Street establishment seems to have had the field to itself for a time.

As to the nature of this concert room, not much information is available; but it may be noted that York Buildings was at first the general name for a number of streets, one of which was Villiers Street, erected on the site of York House after its demolition. Hence "Villiers Street, York Buildings"—not "York Buildings, Villiers Street", as might seem more natural. But Villiers Street then was, of course, a very different affair from the narrow, squalid street, running down from the Strand under the shadow of Charing Cross Railway Station which it is today, consisting as it did at that time of fine residential houses in one of the most fashionable quarters of the Town, of one of which houses the York Buildings concert room formed part.

And this doubtless accounts for the fact that one so little interested in music in the ordinary way as Sir Richard Steele should have become the proprietor of the place for a time—the explanation being simply, I imagine, that he had taken over the house in question as his residence and so had become the owner of the concert room—"Sir Richard Steele's Great Room", as it was so frequently styled in the advertisements of the day.

At the same time it may be noted that Steele had been associated with the York Buildings room some years before he became its proprietor, since it was here that he gave, from 1715 onward, those curious entertainments—consisting of representations of famous classical and historical scenes with appropriate oratory, music, etc.—which under the title of "The Censorium", made such appeal to the "high-brows" of those days. Wherefore it is quite likely that, though his interest in music itself was slight, he found it an additional reason for settling in Villiers Street, in 1721, and thereby acquired control of this popular concert room.

Others who appeared in the York Buildings concert room included practically all of the most eminent performers of the time, while the fact that the King, the Prince of Wales, the Duchess of Marlborough, the Earl of Essex, and other notables hired the premises from time to time for private concerts, indicates clearly enough the importance of the position which it occupied as the leading musical rendezvous of the day during about the first third of the century—the last concert there, of which I have found mention, having been given by Corbet on April 5, 1734.

Long before this, however, a rival resort, destined in time to become much more famous, was beginning to share the favor of concert givers, namely, the Great Room of Mr. Hickford's Dancing School in Panton Street, Haymarket, situated close to where the Comedy Theatre stands today. Here concerts were being given as early as 1697, as an advertisement in the *Post Boy* for November 20 of that year makes evident, although it was not until some years later that they began to take place here with any frequency. But the belief formerly entertained that the first concerts were given here about 1715 was certainly quite erroneous, since it had thoroughly established itself as an important concert room some years before this.

Mr. Hickford's Dancing Academy (which was also an auction room, for which purpose it continued to be used on occasion until 1729) was, it may be noted, only one of several similar establishments—Mr. Barker's Great Dancing Room in Mincing Lane, Mr. Clarke's Dancing School in St. Paul's Alley near Paternoster Row, and Mr. Holt's Dancing Room in Bartholomew Lane behind the Royal Exchange were others—in which concerts were given at that time; but it soon eclipsed all others in popularity and for more than half a century was the headquarters of the London concert world.

It did not remain all the time, however, in Panton Street; for in 1738—not 1739, as stated in Grove²—Mr. Hickford removed to larger premises in Brewer Street (or “Brewer's Street” as it was then called) near Golden Square—the first concert of which I have found mention here being one given “For the Benefit of Segnora (*sic*) Bertoldi” on April 7 of that year. Here, as the fashionable concert room of the day *par excellence*, it reached the zenith of its fame and favor. And what is more, the identical premises remained in being down to a few years ago (1934), with the actual concert room itself, hardly altered at all, in which in those distant days so many memorable performances (including those of Mozart as a boy of eight) were listened to with delight. Then unfortunately, to the irreparable loss of antiquarian London, they were pulled down to make room for the extension of an adjoining hotel.

Other concert rooms, or at any rate places in which concerts were occasionally given in the earlier years of the century, were the Great Room in Arundel Street, the Long Room at the Opera House, the Academy in Chancery Lane, and the Long Room in St. Martin's-le-Grand, though none of these seems to have been used with any frequency.

² George Grove, “Dictionary of Music and Musicians”, The Macmillan Company, New York.

But concerts, as I have said, were given in those days at a great many other places besides the recognized concert rooms—in the theatres, in the City Companies' Halls, in the various Pleasure Gardens, in the many dancing schools, in the still more numerous taverns, and so on, making up a total amount of public music-making which shows unmistakably enough how very widespread was the love of music in London at that time.

As regards the taverns, most of the more important ones had rooms suitable for the purpose which were constantly hired by concert givers. And here, too, were held the meetings of the many musical societies which played such a prominent part in London's musical life at this time, and of which the famous "Academy of Antient Musick" (which met at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand and lasted from 1710 to 1792) was easily the most distinguished.

With respect to the others, most of them took their names from the taverns at which they met, so that you had the "Castle Society of Musick" in Paternoster Row, the "Swan Society of Musick" in Cornhill, the "Musical Society of the Globe Tavern" in Fleet Street, the "Musical Society of the Greyhound Tavern" in Fleet Street, the "St. Cecilian Society of the Devil Tavern", Temple Bar, the "Society of Musicians of the Cardigan's Head Tavern", Charing Cross, and so on in almost endless numbers, giving a vivid idea again of the enormous amount of "musick" which was being made in London at this time. It should be noted, too, that the meetings of these musical societies were not mere sing-songs, with conviviality as their chief object, but gatherings of serious amateurs with a good class of music as their main purpose and attraction.

Many of the taverns provided also a large amount of music on their own account, thereby carrying on the traditions of the old "Musick Houses", although rather curiously this term seems to have been entirely dropped by this time.

An enormous amount of music was heard, in addition, at the theatres, alike in the way of actual concerts and of separate "turns" interspersed with others (such as dancing, rope-walking, and so on) among the dramatic items of the program. Indeed, in the earlier years of the century purely theatrical programs without such miscellaneous items seem to have been almost unknown, so that one even finds performances of "Hamlet" and "King Lear" enlivened in this way!

Moreover, a large number of "straight" concerts, usually the biggest

and most important, requiring larger accommodation than York Buildings or Hickford's provided, were given at one or the other of the playhouses, such as the King's Theatre in the Haymarket (the leading opera house of the time, where most of Handel's operas and oratorios were produced, the site of which is now occupied by His Majesty's Theatre), the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre (no longer in existence, where the "Beggar's Opera" was first performed), the New Theatre in the Haymarket (opened in 1721, the Haymarket Theatre of today), Drury Lane (opened—i.e. the first theatre there—in 1663), the Goodman's Fields Theatre (where Garrick made his first appearance as an unknown and unnamed "Gentleman", in 1741), and others of less account.

Yet other places in which concerts were given included, as I have indicated, the fine Halls of the City Guilds (particularly Stationers' Hall), the many dancing schools which flourished in London at that time, ordinary schools, private houses, etc.—in fact, wherever suitable accommodation could be found.

Nor is the list even yet exhausted, since there is still to be borne in mind how lavishly music-lovers were catered for at the numerous pleasure gardens—Vauxhall, Ranelagh, Marybone ("Marylebone" to-day), Cuper's Gardens, etc.—which played such an all-important part in the London life of the period. Music was indeed the main attraction at all of these resorts, in conjunction with the pleasant *al fresco* conditions, and some of the finest performers of the day were heard at them—not in cheap "popular" programs, it should be understood, but in music of the best kind—by Handel, Geminiani, Arne, and all the leading composers of the day. And this applied no less to the many similar resorts on the outskirts of the Town—such as Hampstead Wells, Richmond Wells, Ruckholt House (Essex), and the rest.

It will be realized therefore that the number of places in which concerts were given was very large, indicating far greater activity in that way than might be deduced from the comparatively small number of concerts given in the rather limited number of actual concert rooms. Indeed, compared to the size of London and the number of its population (about 500,000 at that time) the number of concerts was then much greater and the support of public music in general was much more active than now—which is perhaps a somewhat chastening reflection.

CHARACTER OF PROGRAMS

To attempt anything like a complete account of either the programs or the performers who appeared in them would, of course, be quite impossible in the space at my disposal, but a few points may be noted.

As to the programs, they were usually "mixed" in the sense of including both vocal and instrumental items. Hence, though purely vocal and purely instrumental programs were sometimes given, "Vocal and Instrumental" was the ever-recurring formula in most of the concert advertisements. But it is important to note that the instrumentalists seem to have enjoyed quite as much favor as the singers, and to have been by no means merely supplementary to the latter as might possibly be supposed.

Thus advertisements such as the following are fairly frequent:

For the Benefit of William Douglas.

At Mr. Hickford's Great Room in James-street, near the Hay-market, on Wednesday next, being the 26th of February, will be perform'd a Consort of Musick. A Concerto and Solo on the Violin by Mr. Michael Festing of his own composing. A Concerto and Solo on the Hautboy by Mr. Kytch. A Sonata by Mr. China on the German Horn.³

One even meets at times with concerts given by single instrumentalists, such as would nowadays be styled "recitals", as in the following example:

A Particular Entertainment of MUSICK
For the Benefit of Signor Castrucci,
First Violin to the Opera.

At Mr. Hickford's Great Room in James-street, near the Hay-market, on the 25th of March, Signor Castrucci will perform several new Solos and Concertos of his own composition, with one Concerto of the famous Corelli and another Composition with an Echo.⁴

In this connection, namely, the popularity of instrumental music, it may be noticed also that performances on unusual and freakish instruments were often advertised as special attractions. Those which I have found mentioned of this kind include the Arch Lute (1703), the Great Theorbo and La Mandolina (1707), the Decachordon, an instrument with solid glass strings (1719), the Viol d'Veneze (1724), the Violetta Marina (brought forward by Castrucci in 1732), the Corno Chromatico (a "new invented instrument" introduced in 1741), the

³ *Daily Courant*, February 22, 1724.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1724.

Bandola (1744), and the Musical Glasses—to be referred to further presently in connection with Gluck's famous performances in 1746—to say nothing of such more familiar orchestral instruments as the bassoon, trumpet, kettle-drum, etc., which were then quite frequently heard in solo numbers. Harpsichord solos on the other hand seem to have been rather surprisingly few. One finds mention of them now and again, but hardly to the extent which might have been expected.

As regards the ordinary run of everyday programs, here are some typical examples:

At the Desire of Several Persons of Quality,

On Thursday the 28th of this Instant *January*, in York Buildings, will be perform'd a Consort of New Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by the best Masters. Wherein the famous *Gasperini* [sic] and Signor *Petto* will play several Italian Sonatas. And Mrs. *Campion* will sing several English and Italian Songs for her own Benefit. Beginning at 8 of the Clock precisely. None to be admitted without Tickets, which are to be had at *White's Chocolate House* in St. *James's*-street and the *Spread Eagle* Coffee-House in Bridges-street, near Covent Garden.⁵

Another from a later period runs:

For the Benefit of Mr. *Gadbury*,

At the Great Room in York Buildings Tomorrow the 15th Instant, will be performed an extraordinary Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick by the best Masters, with some celebrated Pieces, particularly a Concerto for the Little Flute by Mr. John Baston, a Solo on the Violin by Mr. Jones, with singing by Mr. Leveridge; likewise a Harpsichord Piece by Mr. Munrow.⁶

And here is a third, making mention of a little-known work by Arne and of a youthful prodigy who was presumably the son of Snow, the trumpeter:

For the Benefit of Master JONATHAN SNOW
A Youth of Nine Years of Age,

At the New Theatre in the Haymarket, on Tuesday April 3 will be perform'd, a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental

M U S I C K.

The Vocal Parts by Mrs. Arne, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Reinholz, with several Performances on the Harpsichord by Master Snow. The whole to conclude with a grand Piece of Musick call'd

AN ODE TO CHEARFULNESS
Compos'd by Mr. Arne.

Tickets, &c.⁷

⁵ *Daily Courant*, January 27, 1703.

⁶ *Daily Post*, March 12, 1728.

⁷ *General Advertiser*, March 27, 1750.

All of these programs, it will be noticed, were of the "vocal and instrumental" order, but not infrequently they were "mixed" in a different sense, namely, when the musical numbers were interspersed with pure variety turns in the way of dancing, juggling, rope-walking, equestrian performances, and the like. Entertainments of this order were given especially in the theatres, but sometimes in the concert rooms also, more particularly in the earlier years of the century.

Here is a characteristic announcement for example of one of these "variety" concerts:

At the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, on Saturday next, the 23d of January, will be perform'd a Consort of Musick by the best Masters, wherein the famous *Signiora Johanna Maria Lindelheim* will sing several Songs in Italian and French, compos'd by *Signior Sajoni* lately arriv'd from *Italy*. With several new Entertainments of Dancing by Monsieur Du Ruell, lately arriv'd from the Opera at Paris. To which will be added a Comedy of Two Acts, call'd *The Country House*. Also several Entertainments of singing by Mr. *Leveridge*, Mr. *Larcom* and Mr. *Hughes*. Tickets &c. And no Persons to be admitted in Masques.⁸

Another runs:

Never Perform'd Before.

At the Great Musick Room in *York Buildings* on *Friday* the Fifth of February will be an Entertainment, in which will be a Consort of Instrumental Musick and Variety of New Dancing, both Comick and Serious, by Mr. *Weaver*, Mr. *Essex*, and others. And Singing by a little Girl. Likewise an Entertainment of Vaulting on the Horse.⁹

There was indeed nothing "high-brow" or "superior" about concert-goers in those days, as may be gathered also from the character of many of the purely musical programs, in which the most amusing "stunts" and out-of-the-way items were introduced at times.

Thus in the case of one advertised in the *Daily Courant* of December 2, 1718, members of the audience were invited to ascend the platform and play on any instrument.

In the advertisement of another (*Daily Courant*, March 17, 1725) it was promised that "Signor Castrucci will make you hear two trumpets on the violin", while in 1731 the same performer was advertised to play "24 notes with one bow".

This last stunt had an amusing sequel in another concert given shortly afterwards by the "Last Violin of Goodman Fields Playhouse"—Castrucci always advertised himself as "the First Violin at the Opera"—

⁸ *Daily Courant*, January 20, 1703.

⁹ *Ibid.*, February 4, 1703.

who promised that he would "execute five and twenty notes with one bow, being one note more than the famous First Violin of the Opera can play".

In 1732 a novel concert was given at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre "in the manner it was performed at Dresden the performers in the following Characters, *viz.* the Harpsichord by Columbine, the Violoncello by Harlequin, Bassoon by Scaramouche", and so on, while it was added that "Places will be kept on the Stage for Gentlemen and Ladies Performers who are willing to play between the Acts, in proper Habits, as they please".¹⁰

But much more startling than this was an item promised as part of the program of a "vocal and instrumental" concert given at the New Theatre, Haymarket, in 1733: "Several select Pieces will be performed on the Harpsichord by Miss Robinson, particularly two with her Feet"!¹¹ In our own time we have had enterprising artists who have played the piano with their elbows, but such achievements must be reckoned tame in comparison with that of this eighteenth century lady who utilized also her feet—though how she contrived to do it I must confess myself unable to conjecture.

Light relief of another kind was offered in the case of a concert given at Stationers' Hall in 1734, the advertisement stating that, after songs by Miss Cecilia Young, "Mr. Topham [a famous 'strong man' of the time] is to entertain the Company with the Experiments of his surprizing strength".¹²

At the same time it would be quite a mistake to suppose that items of this sort were a constant feature of concert programs in those days, for this was not so at all. They occurred now and again only, and illustrated amusingly the character of the age; but there is every reason to think that, in a general way, eighteenth-century concert-goers took their music quite as seriously and intelligently as those of today. Goldsmith lays stress indeed upon the extraordinary decorum of their behavior—as contrasted with the noisiness and unruliness of the public at the playhouses.

It should be added, on the subject of programs, that equally frequent were operatic concerts, consisting of excerpts, both vocal and instrumental, from current operas performed by the "stars" of the day, and sacred concerts (to which the term "concerto spirituale" was sometimes

¹⁰ *Daily Journal*, February 21, 1732.

¹¹ *Daily Post*, February 17, 1733.

¹² *London Evening Post*, June 8, 1734.

applied) consisting of similar excerpts from oratorios and other works of a religious character (such as Hasse's "Salve Regina" which enjoyed prodigious popularity for several years).

The following is a characteristic advertisement of one of the former kind:

For the Benefit of Signora POMPEATI.

At the New Theatre in the Haymarket on Saturday next will be presented a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental

M U S I C K,

Consisting of the chief Airs perform'd this Season at the Opera House, with other new Airs and several Solos perform'd by the best Masters.¹³

Yet another form of concert—a very curious one—of which one occasionally finds mention towards the middle of the century, was that combining music with breakfast!—e.g.:

This Day at the New Assembly Room at the Three Lamps in James-street, near Petty France, Westminster, will be a Publick BREAKFASTING, each Person paying 1s 6d Admittance, Breakfasting and all included. The Doors to be opened at Eleven o'Clock when the Musick will begin and end at Three.¹⁴

From all of which it may be gathered that eighteenth-century concert-givers could certainly not be charged with lack of enterprise.

PERFORMERS OF THE PERIOD

As regards performers, outstanding names at the opening of the century were those of Abel, the famous alto singer and lutenist; Richard Leveridge, the celebrated bass; and a trio of notable women vocalists: the mysterious "Baroness" (this being the only name by which she was ever known); Francesca Margherita de l'Épine; and her great rival, Mrs. Catherine Tofts, who had to explain on one occasion in a letter to the papers that she had not been responsible for her maid's unseemly action in going to the theatre and throwing oranges at Francesca!

Famous instrumentalists, in turn, who enjoyed much popularity in the first years of the century, were William Babell (who played both the harpsichord and the violin); Gasparini (violinist and composer); Pepusch (who later married Mme. de l'Épine, and was then at the outset

¹³ *General Advertiser*, July 1, 1746.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1748.

of what was to prove such a long and prosperous career in England); Saggioni, Paisible, and William Corbett (all violinists).

Handel came to England for the first time in 1710, but gave no concerts during that visit, his operatic activities doubtless absorbing all his energies. He played often in private, though, and likewise found time to attend the famous weekly concerts of Thomas Britton, the immortal "small coal man", and even performed at some of them. In later years, however, he was of course constantly heard in public, though more often in connection with his own productions at the theatres than in the way of ordinary concerts.

Dubourg, afterwards to become so well known, made his first appearance as a boy of ten at Hickford's, in 1713, while in the following year a still more famous violinist and composer was thus announced:

At the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, on Saturday next, being the 23rd of January, will be presented an Opera call'd *Dorinda*. With Symphonies played by the famous Signor Veracini, lately arriv'd from Italy.¹⁵

Thereafter Veracini was heard constantly in London, enjoying the greatest popularity, and according to some authorities actually died here, in 1750.

In 1723, John Clegg was a fiddling prodigy (aged nine) who made considerable stir and afterwards became a very great player; in 1724, Francesco Scarlatti, brother of Alessandro, after a first visit in 1719, returned to London. A star which rose about the same time, and shone for many years afterwards, was Lewis Granom, the famous flautist, who gave a long series of concerts at Hickford's in 1729. In 1730, Cecilia Young, afterwards wife of Dr. Arne and one of the most admired singers of her time, made her first appearance, on March 4, at Drury Lane. In 1731, Burke Thumoth, then a youth of 14—who played the harpsichord, trumpet and flute—was another prodigy to appear.

More important was the announcement, towards the end of this year, 1731, of a series of concerts by Geminiani. It is stated in Grove¹⁶ that these concerts were carried on by Geminiani for several years; but this was not the case, as they were taken over almost immediately, that is, in the following year, by Arrigoni and San Martini, and carried on by them in conjunction with Hickford. Geminiani, who first came to London in 1714, and passed practically the rest of his life here until his death in

¹⁵ *Daily Courant*, January 21, 1714.

¹⁶ Grove, *op. cit.*

Dublin in 1762, though one of the greatest violinists and most eminent composers of his time, was not very good at marketing his talents. He very seldom played in public in the ordinary way, preferring to devote himself to his composing, writing and teaching, and on the few occasions when he did arrange concerts they were seldom very successful. Hence his name appears much less frequently in the concert records of the time than might be expected.

In the following year (1732) Valentine Snow, the celebrated trumpet player, was heard more than once; and "Mr. Pasquale, the famous Italian *Violoncello*", made his first appearance. This year, too, saw the first appearance in London of Mr. William De Fesch, the Belgian composer, organist and violinist, and his wife, who were afterwards heard a good deal. The production of the former's oratorio "Judith" in the following year (1733) at the Theatre Royal, Lincoln's Inn Fields, called forth the following amusing advertisement:

The Composer humbly hopes the Disappointment the Town met with by its being postponed will be in no Means imputed to him, it being occasioned by such an Accident as anyone might unfortunately fall under, that of the Misconduct and pretended Sickness of Cecilia Young, who had engaged for the Part of Judith, which will be performed by Miss Chambers.¹⁷

In 1734, Charles Avison, organist, composer and theorist, and hero of one of Browning's several musical poems, made one of his rare appearances as a concert-giver, the program including concertos by Corelli and Geminiani, songs by Handel, and harpsichord solos.

In 1736, the death of John Banister, the "Father of Public Concerts", as he might be called, was briefly recorded in the *Daily Post*, January 12, and one finds mention of Beard (the famous tenor), Festing, Castrucci, Bertoldi, and Dell'Abaco among the performers of the year.

A concert given in March, 1738, was one of several in which Dr. Arne and Mrs. Arne took part together, the advertisement showing also that Dr. Arne played the violin on this occasion:

For the Benefit of Mr. Burk [sic] Thumoth.

At the New Theatre in the Haymarket, Tomorrow, March 3, will be performed a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick.

The Vocal Part by Mrs. Arne, who will perform some of Farinelli's principal Songs, and others newly composed by Mr. Arne.

The first violin by Mr. Arne.

¹⁷ *Daily Journal*, February 16, 1733.

With several Pieces on the Harpsichord, German Flute and Trumpet by the said Burk Thumoth.

Tickets &c.¹⁸

Towards the end of 1741, Geminiani gave "by Command of their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales" a "Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick" at the New Theatre in the Hay-market, and followed this very speedily by another in the beginning (January 8) of 1742. Otherwise, few performers of any particular note seem to have appeared either in this year or in the next. But the latter (1743) included one performance of considerable interest which was announced as follows:

By SUBSCRIPTION

The Ninth Night,

At the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden on Wednesday next will be perform'd
A NEW SACRED ORATORIO,

With a Concerto on the Organ,
And a Solo on the Violin by Mr. Dubourg.¹⁹

This "New Sacred Oratorio" was "The Messiah".

In 1744, a Mr. Charles, who enjoyed some popularity in his day as a performer on the clarinet and "Hautboy-Amour", gave a concert at Hickford's (April 25), the program being announced "to conclude with the TURKISH MUSICK, in the Original Taste, as perform'd at Constantinople",²⁰ while in the advertisement of another concert "for the Benefit of Mr. Blogg", who contributed the "vocal parts", one finds mention of "a Preamble, by Desire, on the Kettledrums, by the celebrated Mr. Joseph Baker".²¹

In 1746, the famous blind harpist, John Parry, from Wales, made his only appearance in London and found general favor. But the outstanding event of that year was the visit of Gluck with his famous performances on the "musical glasses"—one of the most curious episodes, it may surely be said, in the whole history of the concert room, having in view the standing of the performer and the nature of the performances. The concert was announced as follows:²²

¹⁸ *General Advertiser*, March 2, 1738.

¹⁹ *Daily Advertiser*, March 19, 1743.

²⁰ *General Advertiser*, April 23, 1744.

²¹ *Daily Advertiser*, June 20, 1744.

²² *General Advertiser*, March 31, 1746.

At Mr. Hickford's Great Room in Brewer's-Street, on Monday, April 14, Signor GLUCK, Composer of the Operas, will exhibit a CONCERT of

M U S I C K

By the best Performers from the Operatto [sic].

Particularly, he will play a Concerto upon Twenty-Six Drinking Glasses tuned with Spring-Water, accompanied with the whole Band, being a new Instrument of his own Invention; upon which he performs whatever may be done on a Violin or Harpsichord; and therefore hopes to satisfy the Curious, as well as the Lovers of Musick.

To begin at Half an Hour after Six.

Tickets Half a Guinea each.

This performance was followed by another, "At the Desire of Several Persons of Quality", at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, on April 23, at which Gluck was announced to play a concerto and accompany Signora Frasi, the famous opera singer, on the "new instrument".

Unfortunately, further information as to these performances in the newspapers of the time is totally lacking. Not so much as a paragraph seems to have been published on the subject, although one can well believe, on the strength of Goldsmith's familiar reference in "The Vicar of Wakefield", how great was the interest they aroused. Later, of course, the resources of the musical glasses, in the improved form of Benjamin Franklin's "Harmonica", were greatly developed, and even Beethoven wrote something for the instrument, though it never became established for serious purposes.

Jozzi, a singer, harpsichord player and composer, who had the misfortune later to be detected in a disgraceful piece of plagiarism, was a newcomer in 1748, giving a concert at the New Theatre in the Haymarket on March 15, Signora Frasi, who was much in evidence about this time, being one of the other performers. In the same year, "For the Benefit of Gustavus Waltz" (who began as Handel's cook and afterwards became a popular bass singer) a big vocal and instrumental concert was given at the New Theatre in the Haymarket; and Cassandra Frederick, a little girl of five and a half, who played pieces by Scarlatti and Handel on the harpsichord, joined the growing list of prodigies.

One does not usually think of Dr. Burney as a public performer, but he appeared in this capacity now and again; and "an Organ Concerto by Mr. Burney" was one of the items of a Concert given at the King's Arms Tavern in Cornhill on February 26, 1750—the advertisement adding "After the Concert, by Desire of several Persons of Distinction, will

be a Ball (with proper Musick accompanied with the Tabor and Pipe)".

A more important event was the "Concerto Spirituale" given by Geminiani at Drury Lane, on April 11, of this year. Unfortunately it was not an unqualified success, as readers of Hawkins may remember, since the performers failed to follow Geminiani's somewhat erratic beat and a painful breakdown resulted, other pieces having to be substituted for those announced. But "Il Furibondo", as Geminiani had been dubbed in his youth, had always been criticized as a "timist". One of the announcements in connection with this concert is rather quaint and at the same time illustrates pleasantly the good relations subsisting between Geminiani and Handel:

Mr. Geminiani has alter'd his Day from Friday, April 6, to the Wednesday following, on Account of the Oratorio, Mr. Handel having agreed to have no Oratorio on Wednesday, April 11.

Hawkins, by the way, gives the year of this concert as 1748, and Burney as 1749; but it is illustrative of the unreliability of both that it really took place in 1750, as the advertisements of it in the newspapers of the time unquestionably show.

A Concert at Hickford's "*For Signora CUZZONI'S Benefit*" was also given in May of this year and the death of San Martini—the date of which is given in Grove²³ as "possibly 1740"—was announced in November, but otherwise the record was not remarkable.

* * *

Concerning other aspects of London's concerts, two hundred years ago, I have only space for one or two further notes.

As regards the time at which they took place, six o'clock was a general hour at the beginning of the century, but sometimes seven, and occasionally eight, was chosen. Thus "Beginning at 7 of the Clock, when the Company returns from Hide Park" was the quaint announcement in one case, in 1707. This applies, of course, only to the indoor concerts; for in the various Pleasure Gardens they began usually at noon, and even earlier, and continued throughout the day.

As regards the prices charged, these seem to have ranged from about 2s.6d. to 15s. or (very exceptionally) one guinea. Thus for one of Handel's concerts at the Queen's Theatre, in 1716, the charges advertised

²³ Grove, *op. cit.*

were "Boxes on the Stage 15s, Tickets Half a Guinea, Gallery 4s." In 1729, a Crown was charged by Grano for one of his concerts. For Gluck's performances on the musical glasses, in 1746, the charge was 10s. 6d. for all seats at first, and afterwards 10s. 6d. and, in the gallery, 5s., while in the case of concerts at the New Theatre (Haymarket) in 1749 the usual charges were "Pit and Boxes Half a Guinea, Gallery 5s." In short, the charges then did not differ much nominally from those of today, though relatively, of course, they were considerably higher. The tickets, it may be added, had usually to be obtained at some place specified beforehand and were not sold at the doors.

All London streets had their dangers in the eighteenth century, when you might be held up and plundered any day, even in Piccadilly; but none more so, of course, than those on the outskirts of the town. Wherefore one finds such announcements as the following in connection with the Concerts at Hampstead Wells:

Proper care will be taken for a sufficient Guard for all the Coaches home. To begin exactly at 7 a-Clock. N.B. There is a very good road for Coaches made straight up the Heath from Pond Street.²⁴

And in a similar spirit were some of the notices attached to the advertisements of concerts at Richmond, Greenwich and other places on the river, such as the following in relation to one at Richmond:

Beginning at Six a-Clock in the Evening, Five Shillings a Ticket. This Consort to be perform'd but once because of the Queen's going to the Bath.

*Note, The Tide serves at 11 a-Clock in the Morning and Light Nights.*²⁵

It is a pleasant picture which imagination conjures up of those hearty forthright eighteenth-century folk—the men in their knee-breeches, wide-skirted coats and three-cornered hats, the ladies in their hoops and panniers and lace and linen caps—setting forth by river or road to Richmond or Hampstead; and when one remembers the traveling conditions of those far-off times, one realizes more vividly than ever that, much as "enthusiasm" was scoffed at by the writers of the day, these good eighteenth-century people were, in point of fact, nothing if not enthusiastic.

²⁴ *Daily Post*, June 28, 1721.

²⁵ *Daily Courant*, August 7, 1703.

EARLY AMERICAN COMPOSERS AND CRITICS

By ROBERT SABIN

LITTLE has been written about the history of early American musical taste and creative ideals. We have excellent research material in specific fields, but no panoramic study of musical thought through the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet many of the problems and movements in our musical life today were forecast or begun by the writers and composers of a hundred years ago. Public education in music, the encouragement of native composers and performers, an American opera sung in our own language, the development of great orchestras, critical standards—all of these found staunch champions in the early days of music. The story of the attempts at musical reform in church and theatre, and of the struggles of early American composers, is filled with interest. Musical battles and feuds were common even in those times when public apathy towards music was still the main problem. Musical journalism and musical life were in the stage of adolescence: crude, uninformed, inexperienced, often enough, but full of energy and new ideas.

One of the turning points in American musical life came with the increased interest in opera and the theatre at the beginning of the nineteenth century. "The youthful amateur is now more likely to be drawn into the temples of heathenism and infidelity by the charms of music, than into the churches of the living God,"¹ wrote an embittered observer. We must not forget that church music dominated America during the first century and a half of her development. It was to religious music that some of the earliest American composers turned, and that the most serious critical reforms were directed. Oscar Sonneck's admirable studies of concert and opera in the eighteenth century have shown that they still bore the English stamp and were limited generally to the larger cities and a small public. The hardship and struggle of pioneer life left little or no time for musical cultivation. Even under more favorable circumstances the art was looked upon with mistrust. A century of effort

¹ *Musical Magazine*, Thomas Hastings, Ed., New York, May 1835, vol. 1, p. 4.

and education was required to bring "sweetness and light" into the bleak mental horizons of American evangelical piety.

There was need for reform. Church congregations and choirs were not trained. Lack of correct pitch and of accuracy in part singing led often to horrible discord. Such customs as "singing by the line", each line of a hymn being read before it was sung, must have spoiled even acceptable singing. Too many native composers of religious and popular music subscribed to the remarkable principle (not entirely obsolete) enunciated by William Billings in the introduction to his "New England Psalm Singer" in 1770: "For my own part, I don't think myself confined to any rules for Composition laid down by any that went before me, neither should I think . . . that any who comes after me were any ways obligated to adhere to them." And when the works of Handel and Haydn were performed, they were often mutilated. It was in protest against such conditions that the first attempts to codify and to establish standards of American musical criticism were made.

* * *

Thomas Hastings (1784-1872) was one of the first to attack this problem. His "Dissertation on Musical Taste," published in 1822, influenced many musicians and educators, notably Lowell Mason, to whom we owe the introduction of music to the public schools of Massachusetts in 1836. Despite his narrow, somewhat bigoted, prejudice against secular music and his lack of technical training, Hastings rendered marked service as a pioneer in criticism and made shrewd and telling observations on American musical ways. Rousseau, Avison, and particularly Dr. Burney were his sources and authority. His conception of criticism was that which prevailed through most of the century: a sort of artistic judiciary with fixed laws for all cases. "The application of general principles of taste to the art of musick, has long been resorted to by the critics of Europe," he wrote, "but with regard to the particular manner of this application there seems hitherto to have been no settled method."²

For the besetting sin of American, as well as other, music Hastings had no patience: "That particular class of amateurs, who delight in the unrestrained indulgence of a species of sentimentalism, that has been

² Thomas Hastings, "Dissertation on Musical Taste; or General Principles of Taste applied to the art of Music", Albany, 1822, p. 83.

termed 'the invisible riot of the mind'"³ roused his deepest ire. He pointed out that: "Men of letters, that were not extensively acquainted with musick, have been sufficiently disposed to apply the lash of criticism; and professed artists have been as ready to treat them and their speculations with contempt."⁴ He was thinking, perhaps, of Addison. His advice to performers was often good, warning, for example, against the singer who "acquires such an intensity or such a shrillness of tone, on the high notes especially, as forever afterwards to stun the ears of anyone who approaches him."⁵ Hastings realized that "musical taste is a thing that can never be suddenly superinduced. It is the result of gradual and continuous effort. It comes to maturity like the slow process of vegetation."⁶

The *Musical Magazine*, like all such periodicals before *Dwight's Journal of Music*, was short-lived. Hastings was limited by his pious suspicions of dramatic music and by his aversion to the theatre. He published a terrific allegorical attack upon oratorio, which did not mince words: "And what is this? Is there no shame? no blush? no sense of awful trifling? no dread of blasphemy? They have written the story of their rebellion . . . and set it to music, and brought from the theatre and house of infamy, and the barroom, those who sing it to them. And the audience, who are they? Surely the sewers of abomination must have been dragged to find souls so base!"⁷ Even Haydn's "Creation" was found to have "some strange fancies, and questionable traits of description."⁸ In all fairness let it be remembered that the theatres of the day were very different from ours. "The floor was dirty and broken into holes; the seats were bare, backless benches . . . The place was pervaded with evil smells; and, not uncommonly, in the midst of a performance, rats ran out of the holes in the floor and across into the orchestra . . . The gallery was occupied by howling roughs."⁹ Such was the principal theatre of New York as late as 1850. Not all of them were as bad, but the odor of ill-repute was still heavy over them. And he who thinks that prudery and bigotry died out in the 'thirties has only to read some of the criticisms of Strauss' "Salomé" written a generation ago.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶ *Musical Magazine*, July 1835, vol. I, p. 84.

⁷ *Ibid.*, October 1835, vol. I, p. 174.

⁸ *Ibid.*, March 1837, vol. II, p. 165.

⁹ Richard Grant White, "Opera in New York," *Century Magazine*, April 1882, vol. XXIII, no. 6, p. 869.

After Manuel Garcia brought over Italian opera in 1825, the protests of men like Hastings were both hopeless and out of date. New York was taken by storm. "We were last night surprised, delighted, enchanted; and such were the feelings of all who witnessed the performance,"¹⁰ wrote the reviewer of the *Evening Post* on November 30. A week later, when Rossini's "Barber of Seville" was given, he waxed enthusiastic over "the elegant, instructive, and innocent exhibition of this opera, allowed to be one of the most brilliant productions of Senor Rossini, the greatest master of music of the present day."¹¹ The much-abused theatre triumphed over social prejudice and became the fashion. At the same time young American composers saw a new opportunity before them. The profession of music was scarcely considered respectable in those days. Even in England, composers had to support themselves by teaching and giving concerts. But opera was at once more popular and more profitable than religious or instrumental music.

The American public of the early nineteenth century was eager, ignorant, and conservative at heart. It fell an easy prey to persuasion and propaganda in the theatre and in music. And intimidated by its provincialism, this public was anxious to imitate the European fashion. Walled in by smug, Philistine complacency and absorbed by material struggles, it turned to an extravagant sentimentality and effusion in music, dance, and drama. It was emotionally unstable. Witness the vogue of melodrama—the Jenny Lind furore—the Fanny Elssler "craze". Literature was high-flown in its reference to music. It was a time of Moorish Castles, Guzlas, and Houris. Poe wrote in "The Fall of the House of Usher": "His long improvised dirges will ring forever in my ears. Among other things I hold painfully in mind a certain singular perversion and amplification of the wild air of the 'Last Waltz' of von Weber." This is typical; and the perversion must indeed have been singular which could make that dull and spurious trifle appeal to the supersensitive ear of Roderick Usher. Some years later Master Willie Barnesmore Pape at the age of twelve electrified the audience of the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society by playing Strakosch's well-known version of "Yankee Doodle" with a variation of his own of two airs, "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle", at the same time.¹²



¹⁰ *New York Evening Post*, November 30, 1825.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, December 6, 1825.

¹² Cf. *New York Herald*, Sunday, May 11, 1862.

In this perspective, the achievements of early American composers seem considerable. The first notable success in American opera was won by William Henry Fry with his "Leonora." It was a musical challenge in the name of American national lyric drama. Vocal music will always take precedence of instrumental music in popular estimation, argued Fry, because "no musical instrument equals the human voice in quality and expression . . . It is a clear proposition, that no Art can flourish in a country until it assume a genial character. It may be exotic, experimentally, for a time, but unless it becomes indigenous, taking root and growth in the hearts and understandings of the people generally, its existence will be forced and sickly, and its decay quick and certain."¹³ Fry's work, "the first technically grand opera of the modern school, originally adapted to English words with a view of proving the noble qualities of that language and its capabilities to answer all the requirements of the lyrical drama," was announced in the *New York Times* of March 29, 1858. The opera was sung in Italian! There were apparently no singers capable of mastering the rôles who could sing English, although the opera had been given with success in Philadelphia in 1845.

The *Times* critic was encouraging. He remarked that when the opera was first produced "the discussion of musical matters was limited to one or two little cliques, each furiously hostile to the other, but all animated by a coarse suspicion of everything American."¹⁴ He touched upon Fry's borrowings from Bellini and Donizetti: "It is the case in Mr. Fry's first opera, and it was the case in Mr. Beethoven's first symphony." Praising the melodic profusion of the opera, he condoned its technical crudities. The composer "does not seek his inspiration in the shady and sentimental groves of the minor mode, like most young composers, but in the broad and healthful uplands of the major mode," he commented. In an article from the *Dispatch* of 1861 we can see that Fry had become a sort of national champion in music: "Liszt, Wagner, Berlioz and Fry have all created much and envenomed discussion on account of their peculiar views, scorn of established customs and contempt for the well-worn paths of science. And why? Because innovators are always the longest in being understood, and old ears are like old dogs, and cannot (soon) be taught new tricks."¹⁵ "Leonora," however, followed the pre-

¹³ "Leonora", pianoforte score, E. Ferrett and Co., New York, 1846, Preface.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, Tuesday, March 30, 1858, p. 5.

¹⁵ *New York Dispatch*, quoted in *Dwight's Journal of Music*, April 6, 1861, p. 3.

vailing operatic style of the day, with a florid and exacting soprano rôle. The libretto was based upon Bulwer's "Lady of Lyons."

Throughout his career Fry exercised a manifold influence upon musical life. He became musical editor of the New York *Tribune* in 1852 and was for many years the most prominent journalist in music. He was born in Philadelphia in 1815, and showed such talent that four of his overtures had been played by the Philadelphia Philharmonic Society in 1835. During the next decade he wrote for various newspapers and traveled in Europe. His taste was formed upon Bellini and Donizetti, and his range, both of composition and of criticism, was limited. In 1852, he gave a series of illustrated lectures on musical history. He wrote several quartets and four programmatic symphonies ("The Breaking Heart", "A Day in the Country", "Santa Claus", and "Childe Harold"), which were played by the French conductor, Jullien, on his American tours. He composed a second opera, "Notre Dame de Paris", in 1863. Nor was Fry the only representative of native composition. George F. Bristow, another propagandist, produced his opera "Rip van Winkle" in 1855.

With the advent of the Germania Orchestra in 1849, and the influx of German musicians, another change came over American musical life. Instrumental and orchestral music began to interest the public, although fifty years of labor were yet needed before the work of great leaders like Theodore Thomas and Leopold Damrosch could bear fruit. American composers and American critics were steeped in classical and early romantic German music and traditions. Later the strife of the Wagner, Liszt, and Brahms factions was mirrored on this side of the Atlantic, and American critics contributed heartily to the dictionary of abuse of the new music. The American composer was faced with the problem of assimilating newer and much more profound ideas. The English cast of musical life began to disappear.

Richard Grant White, Shakespearian commentator and student, philologist, novelist, and music critic was the last of the Anglophiles in musical writing. He was outstanding in his day, for, as he tells us, "my articles did much to spoil and break up the business of musical criticism, so-called, in New York, which then was in the hands of a few old hack newspaper writers, men equally incompetent and venal."¹⁶ White was

¹⁶ Richard Grant White, "Opera in New York", *Century Magazine*, May, 1882, footnote, p. 42.

born in New York, in 1822, and died there, in 1885, having spanned a period of crucial development in American music. To him, as well as to George William Curtis of the *Tribune*, music meant principally opera. After studying medicine and law, he turned to writing and became associate editor and critic of music and art on the *Courier and Inquirer* in 1859. He was a keen and accomplished critic of opera and singing of the old school.

White cherished his memories of the intimate social and artistic life of old New York. He criticized the new movement in two long letters written to the *New York Times* in 1880. The New York Philharmonic was no longer an American orchestra, he argued, pointing out the changes of membership and audiences in the past twenty years. While acknowledging the personal greatness of Thomas and the possible ultimate good of his work for America, he denied stubbornly that it was "evidence for the progress of the art of music, the development of musical taste among New Yorkers."¹⁷ At the same time he deplored the decline of the theatre and the neglect of Shakespeare, whose plays had been given ten times formerly for once in 1880. White hated vulgarity and sentimentality in drama and music, and, within his limitations, he fought valiantly against them. He could not foresee that men like Thomas would identify themselves with American cultural life as deeply as any native-born artist, and that the old life so dear to him was already history.

Musical America was still very young and inexperienced. When the Brahms Trio in B major, op. 8, was brought out for the first time in 1855 in New York, the *Times* critic wrote that it had "the usual defects of a young writer, among which may be enumerated length and solidarity."¹⁸ The *Dispatch* said that the trio was a "composition in the

¹⁷ *New York Times*, Sunday, December 19, 1880 and Sunday, December 26, 1880, letters signed R. G. W.

¹⁸ Quoted by George P. Upton, "Theodore Thomas", pp. 39-40; cf. Daniel Gregory Mason, "The Chamber Music of Brahms", The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 3: "It is one of the ironies of music history that the first work in Brahms's great series of twenty-four masterpieces of chamber music—the Trio in B major, opus 8—should have come to its first performance, not in his native land, not even in Europe, but in our own then musically benighted America. The date was Tuesday, November 27, 1855. The place was Dodsworth's Hall, New York, on Broadway, opposite Eleventh Street and one door above Grace Church. The players were Theodore Thomas, violin, then only twenty years old, Carl Bergmann, cello, and William Mason, piano, a young man of twenty-six. The program, recorded in Dr. Mason's 'Memories of a Musical Life', closed with the Brahms Trio, announced as 'Grand Trio in B major, opus 8' (trios were always 'grand' in those days). Dr. Mason's understatement that the piece was then played 'for the first time in America' is misleading; it should read, 'for the first time in the world'. Florence May, in

ultra new school of which we may say briefly that we do not yet understand it."¹⁹ Chamber music programs were interspersed with light music as a concession to public taste. Bigness and display were still potent factors in the American musical mind. When the band leader Gilmore conducted a jubilee in Boston, in 1869, with an orchestra of a thousand players, a chorus of ten thousand, and recruitments which included one hundred anvils, church bells and artillery, he was given an ovation.

But there were isolated figures in music who pointed the way out of the wilderness. John R. G. Hassard, critic of the *New York Tribune* until 1883 was one of these. Theodore Thomas respected him greatly, and he proved a versatile writer in literary criticism and biography, as well as in music. If he was old-fashioned in his literary taste, he was ahead of his time in musical predilection. Hassard wrote a description of the first performance of Wagner's "Ring" at Bayreuth for the *Tribune*, and published the collected articles under the title "The Ring of the Nibelungen" in 1877. They contain sensitive and yet sound comments on the psychology of Wagner's music-drama, although they do not pretend to be profound.

The criticism of the day was still conservative. In 1885, the critic of the *Times* complained that Raff had been "rather neglected of late, possibly in consequence of the imaginary craving for the significant, the confused, and the unintelligible in symphonic as well as in vocal music."²⁰ In the same year the *Herald* related that: "An intermission was allowed after the 'Faust' overture to give the audience an opportunity to recover from the strange, complex and often exceedingly harsh sound combinations of Wagner."²¹ Even Brahms was still an outsider. The critic on the *Times* wrote of the first symphony: "Brahms' symphony . . . generally recognized as able, cannot claim the merits of originality . . . It is the composition of a painstaking, competent and earnest musician, but lacks the inspiration of genius. It is, however,

her 'Life of Johannes Brahms', states specifically: 'The Trio was performed for the first time in public, to the lasting musical distinction of America, on November 27, 1855, at William Mason's concert of chamber music in Dodsworth's Hall, New York. . . . It was played for the second time at Breslau on December 18 of the same year'. If we compare this with the statement of Kalbeck that 'The very first public performance . . . took place on December 18, 1855 in a chamber music soirée of Messrs. Machtig and Seyfriz in Breslau' it seems clear that Kalbeck has fallen into error through not having heard of the New York performance, the priority of which is established by the dates.'

¹⁹ Upton, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²⁰ *New York Times*, Saturday, February 7, 1885.

²¹ *New York Herald*, Saturday, January 17, 1885.

beautifully instrumented, and must command respect, if it does not inspire enthusiasm."²²

In the period between 1880 and 1900 a brilliant school of American musical criticism sprang up, which is familiar to all students and readers. At the same time, through the accomplishment of teachers and composers like Paine, Chadwick, MacDowell and others, American composition outgrew the "salon" and sentimental tradition. America felt the stirring of an autonomous musical life. But surely there are even yet lessons to be learned from the struggles and problems of the composers and critics of an earlier day.

²² *New York Times*, Friday, November 5, 1880.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

A VALUED contributor to this issue of our magazine, Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky, is the author-compiler of a nostalgic volume, entitled "Music since 1900."¹ To us, at least, it is nostalgic, as it might well be to anyone of our generation. For here are deployed, in chronological order and in the form of a "news-reel," the dates that mark what the author considers the most salient or pregnant events in the history of music during the last thirty-seven years. Those were the years of our sea-faring, of our rambling and plodding, they are our years. In turning the leaves of this book, watching the vanishing show, we are seized, now and then, not only with a sense of the relentless flight of time, but with a questioning how near "the setting sun, and music at the close." The business of a book-reviewer is not a gay one at its best; so let us not aggravate it by waxing melancholy.

Mr. Slonimsky and his numerous helpers have brought together a wealth of material that is overwhelming, both in quantity and diversity. They have produced a sort of Domesday Book of the Realm of Music, A. D. 1900-1937. While its form is not, we believe, without precedent in other languages, it is, so far as we know, a departure in English musical literature. It possesses features that render it unique. The first paragraph of the author's "Introduction" describes them tersely:

This is a book in the first place of materials, in the second of evaluation. The materials are of a threefold nature: dates of musical events in chronological order; a biographical dictionary which lists all composers and musicians of importance who lived into the twentieth century, or are living now; and a collection of various documents pertinent to the subject—manifestos of musical organizations, letters throwing light on this or that phase of music since 1900. Further, there is a list of additions and emendations to four standard dictionaries.

To be sure, this is a big order; but Mr. Slonimsky heaps the platter. He can be lavish to excess. He has presented the student of our musical period with an inestimable mine of information. Perhaps it is only in the nature of things that the ore should carry with it an abundance of dross; and the process of refining might have been handled a little more rigorously and discriminately, without sacrificing comprehensiveness or impartiality. For Mr. Slonimsky has explored not only the highways

¹ W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York. XXII, 592. \$4.75.

and byways of music, but also its cow-paths, and in superior numbers. Now, while certain actual cow-paths are said to have developed into the proud and congested streets of St. Botolph's Town on the Charles, and while a musical cut through the field may prefigure a royal road, a great many of these minor trails which the author has followed so assiduously would seem rather destined before long to be grown over with the grass of oblivion,—when new herds of more or less gentle kine will stray into other directions, only to leave in these fresh pastures the indubitable traces of their meanderings.

Let every man stand by his duty as he sees it. We can readily understand why Mr. Slonimsky should have felt it incumbent upon himself with meticulous care to set down, for instance, the dates, wherever available, when Erik Satie finished this or that quaint conceit, or when one or the other of Scriabine's piano pieces came from the Belaiev presses. These are questions of "evaluation"—and that is a personal matter. To quarrel with it would be futile. In the end, the real gain is substantial. For along with much that would seem immaterial, we learn a great deal that is not generally known and deserves remembering. Arnold Schoenberg himself furnishes definite proof which enables us now to "assign the birth of the twelve-tone system to December 1914," or the time when Mr. Henry Ford, with his peace argosy, was trying to get "the boys" out of the trenches by Christmas. Man's mind, undisturbed by the tumult of war and destruction, goes on creating. Art and science defy Bellona. Did not the great Archimedes lose his life at the taking of Syracuse by the Romans, because, absorbed in his mathematical calculations, he did not heed the warning of the legionary who felled him? Mr. Schoenberg, happily, was farther removed from the fighting.

It was on November 11, 1918, at eleven o'clock of the forenoon, that the boys finally left their charnel-houses and rat-holes. For one hour, previously, a last, mad drum-fire had raged along various parts of the front. Then, dead silence. At the stroke of eleven, on the American sector, the buglers stepped out, blew "taps"—and the war was over. On that historical morning, Mr. Slonimsky confides to us, "Igor Stravinsky completes at Morges [in safe Switzerland] the composition of his *Rag-time* for eleven instruments, including a cembalo, and written in a stylized form of neo-classical dance with pseudo-American rhythmical contents." By Jove! let us have more war, more armistice, more Stravinsky, more ragtime, more *pseudo*.

If the well-prepared "Alphabetical Index to Descriptive Chronology" at the back of the volume indicates anything on the face of it, we should say it is precisely this point of "evaluation." By merely referring to the number of page entries set after the names of different musicians, we can tell at a glance what importance the author assigns to them. And his scaling, on the whole, is obviously in conformity with the general estimate of 1937. What it may be in a hundred years no one knows today. Stravinsky is way ahead in the lead with 72; then comes Schoenberg with 56; close on his heels, Richard Strauss with 52. Under 50 we have: Koussevitzky, 44; Debussy, 42 (died 1918); Prokofiev, 31; Casella, 29; Hindemith, 28; Roussel, 28 (died 1937); Ravel, 26 (no mention after 1934); Berg, 23 (died 1935); Krenek, 23; Sibelius, 22; Diaghilev, 22 (died 1929); Satie, 21 (died 1925); Scriabin, 19 (died 1915); Fauré, 7 (died 1924); Charpentier, 5; Carpenter, 3. These figures, while not an absolute gauge, offer food for thought. The few names chosen do not begin to reflect the extent of the full list. There are sixteen pages of them, in double columns of fine print; and only those approved by the author. No one can say that music since 1900 has declined in bulk.

Thirty-seven years, musically speaking, is a long time. It is longer now than it was, still, in the 17th or 18th century. It is longer, by two years, than the whole life of Mozart lasted. It is about as long as was the period of Beethoven's "creative" existence. Consider where Beethoven began and where he left off. And yet there probably never was any similar span of time before, during which music "progressed" as it has since 1900. In that year Verdi was still alive. And on January 14, 1900, Puccini's "La Tosca" had its first performance in Rome. On February 2, Charpentier's "Louise" struck a new note of "modernity." On July 2, Sibelius bravely stepped out with "Finlandia," his thrust to carry him onward ever since. Nietzsche died on August 25, though his brilliant mind had long been extinguished. Scriabine's First Symphony appeared in November. In the same month Sir Arthur Sullivan died. In December, Debussy's first and third Nocturnes (*Nuages* and *Fêtes*) had their initial hearings at a Lamoureux concert in Paris. (The original autograph sketches of the complete three Nocturnes are now in the Library of Congress in Washington, with three different endings for *Nuages*.)

Thus did the 20th century start, with an interlocking of the old and new, but with an unmistakable *fanfare* heralding the things to come. Odd coincidences are not lacking. In 1901, Ethelbert Nevin died, and Rudy Vallée was born. 1902 was the year of Debussy's *Pelléas et Méli-*

sande. The century had got into its stride. In the same spring Sibelius conducted for the first time, at Helsingfors, his Second Symphony, still imbued with the flavor of Tchaikovsky, then dead nine years. As a "minor incident," on August 1, 1902, Oscar Sonneck was appointed the first chief of the music division in the Library of Congress, to make of it in the fifteen years of his tenure one of the greatest music collections in the world.

In 1903, Hugo Wolf died, "the Wagner of the Lied"; and Mr. Vladimir Dukelsky was born, the Vernon Duke of American popular music. Wolf died in an insane asylum near Vienna; Dukelsky was born in the railroad station at Parfianovka, while his mother was on her way to Pskov. In 1904, Antonin Dvořák died, "the Verdi of Bohemia" (the author abounds in these felicitous comparisons); and Ferruccio Busoni completed and played his piano concerto, the longest work of its kind. Puccini's revised "Madame Butterfly," as the composer wrote to his sister, was "a real and unqualified triumph." The author has very carelessly neglected to record that on Washington's birthday, 1905, we arrived in New York to settle in this hospitable land of golden opportunities. We have never ceased blessing our fate. In December of that year, Strauss' "Salome" was first performed in Dresden under Ernst Schuch, that prince of conductors and exquisite gentleman.

Under the date of February 5, 1906, Mr. Slonimsky quotes from a letter addressed by Maurice Ravel to Pierre Lalo (son of Edouard, and friend of all the "impressionist" French composers), who was then the music critic of the great Paris paper, *Le Temps*. The significant passage runs as follows:

You have commented at great length upon a rather special method of writing for piano, the invention of which you attribute to Debussy. I wish to point out that my *Jeux d'Eau* appeared early in 1902, when there were no other piano works by Debussy than his three pieces *Pour le Piano*, which I admire very much but which contain nothing new from the pianistic point of view.

Ravel's claim to priority in the invention of that "rather special method" is possibly valid. But it was in the air, or in the fingers, everywhere, and it soon appealed to a prodigious lot of imitators. It almost ceased to be "piano music" when Albeniz employed it in his colorful suite "Iberia," which is nearly contemporary. On December 3, 1906, Oscar Hammerstein opened the portals of his Manhattan Opera House and inaugurated, with Bonci in "I Puritani," those unforgettable nights on West

Thirty-Fourth Street. It was Gustave Schirmer who, before his untimely death in 1907, had dragged the skeptical Oscar into the *Opéra Comique* in Paris and had made him listen to Mary Garden in *Pelléas et Méli-sande*; which brought about the importation of singer and opera to New York.

Mr. Slonimsky adduces a number of extracts from newspapers to show the attitude of the press and public towards the first performance of "Salome" at the Metropolitan Opera House, on January 22, 1907, that had no immediate repetition. We well remember the tension that held the invited audience at the dress rehearsal. But no one could anticipate the wild shouts of righteous indignation that doomed the piece. Post-prohibition views are changed, in the arts as well as in morals. "Salome" now plays to "S. R. O." on Broadway.

Joachim and Grieg died in 1907; and Dr. Lee de Forest, on March 5, of that year, for the first time transmitted music—Rossini's overture to "William Tell"—by wireless waves from a building opposite the Metropolitan Opera House to the Navy Yard in Brooklyn. Mr. Slonimsky passes in silence over Dr. Cahill and his Telharmonium, earlier installed in that same building. It was a forerunner of tomorrow's electro-piano. It had fascinated Busoni. Four days after this historic broadcast, and many miles distant from it, Arnold Schoenberg "begins his work on the F-sharp minor Quartet, designated op. 10, his last work (in time and by opus number) to bear a key signature indicative of tonality." That was his second string quartet, the lovely one with the voice in the third and fourth movements; the first quartet, op. 7 in D minor, was introduced in America by the Flonzaley Quartet. On that occasion it was deemed necessary to have Kurt Schindler expatiate in some preliminary remarks on the structure and idiom of the work, seeking to enlighten the hearers and at the same time prepare them gently for the worst. Nowadays this quartet, especially when played by the composer's brother-in-law, Rudolf Kolisch, and his associates, awakens only pleasurable sensations and profound admiration. In thirty years the ear has caught up, if not with everything, at least with most of what Schoenberg has composed, and it has learned to detect in this music not only superlative mastery, but deep feeling and chaste beauty. The Flonzaley Quartet, during the quarter century of its existence, did much for contemporary composers of chamber music. The Flonzaleys are not mentioned by Mr. Slonimsky. On November 22, 1907, Charles Martin Loeffler's "Pagan Poem" had its first performance by the Boston Sym-

phony Orchestra under Dr. Muck. Boston was still the center of musical gravity.

Shall we go on, picking at random dates from Mr. Slonimsky's almanac? The temptation is great, but the space—and the reader's patience—limited. Better get the book, and see for yourself the crowding of musical facts and faces. You will be startled, now and then, to realize how fruitful or how abortive this or that "movement" has been. For, aside from a half dozen towering figures, it has been an extraordinary epoch of small fry, all tangled in some "ism" or other. If we might be permitted a blatant *calembour*, we should say it was largely an era of *petits-fours et grands fours*. And yet consider what a complete revolution music has undergone since 1900. During no previous age has the art so drastically changed, expanded, turned head over heels in so brief a space of time. What remains all the more remarkable is the fact that since the recording of Bach's "inapproachable" Art of the Fugue by a string quartet was issued three years ago, about 24,000 records have been sold to date. Here, too, is food for plenty of thought. What have our *Neutoener* and radicals to say to that?

How strange it seems now, twenty years after the event, to read Mr. Slonimsky's gleanings relating to the case of Dr. Karl Muck, denounced and imprisoned as a German "spy." What a hubbub it created in staid Boston! What a clamor arose, when old Mrs. Jack Gardner, valiant soul, always intent on asserting her independence, visited the great conductor in his cell and brought him jam and marmalade! The question of his successor was a burning one. It was debated everywhere. We recall an evening at "Sevenels," the Brookline home of Amy Lowell. She was pacing up and down in front of the fireplace in her sumptuous library, pacing with her elastic step so out of keeping with her corpulent form, playing nervously with the charms on her watch chain. We were slumped in the old leather arm chair, one of the few family relics. As usual, she was holding forth and laying down the law. Nevertheless, she asked us for our opinion whom we thought a fit successor to Dr. Muck. When we ventured to suggest Mr. Ernest Bloch—who had recently arrived in America and had deftly conducted his "Three Poems" in Boston—, she pulled herself up and announced, with some vehemence, that in those troubled days there was no room in the Boston Symphony Orchestra for any man whose name ended in *o-c-h*. To which we quietly said "Foch!" She relished the retort—though you might say that she almost handed it to us on a silver salver.

But here, instead of playing the rôle of reviewer, we are getting into our anecdote; which goes to prove what the century has done to us. The bark is nearing the beach; it is time we reefed our sails. And nothing could give us a more vivid, a more penetrating sense of how grand and exciting has been the voyage, than to thumb Mr. Slonimsky's eventful and accurate logbook.

C. E.



QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

BARBOUR, HARRIET BUXTON, AND WARREN S. FREEMAN
A story of music. x, 272 p, 8°. Boston: C. C. Birchard and Co., 1937.

BEAUMONT, CYRIL WILLIAM
Complete book of ballets; a guide to the principal ballets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. xxv, 1100 p, 8°. London: Putnam, 1937.

BERRIEN, WILLIAM
Latin-American composers and their problems. (Reprinted from the "Modern Language Forum", Vol. XXII, February, 1937) 17 p, 8°. Berkeley, Calif.: The Author, 1937.

BINDER, ABRAHAM W.
Hanukkah in music. (Reprinted from the "Hanukkah Book", 1937) 23 p, 8°. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1937.

BURKE, CARLETON
Symphony Iroquoian; a symphonic poem based upon an ancient Iroquois Indian rite and legend, and augmented by musical folk themes directly transcribed and adapted by the author. x, 70 p, 8°. Rochester, N. Y.: Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1937.

DREW, W. S.
Singing: the art and the craft. 177 p. London: Oxford University Press.

THE EDUCATIONAL USES OF THE GRAMOPHONE.
By a commission of inquiry. London: British Institute of Adult Education.

EMIL-BEHNKE, KATE
The technique of good speech. 256 p, 8°. London: J. Curwen & Sons, Ltd.

ESTONIAN MUSIC. Catalogue with a survey on the development of Estonian music. 16 p, 8°. Tallinn: Published by the Music Fund of the Estonian Cultural Fund, 1937.

EVANS, EDWIN, senior
Technics of the organ. 140 p. London: William Reeves.

FARMER, HENRY GEORGE
Turkish instruments of music in the seven-

teenth century, as described in the Siyāhat nāma of Ewliyā Chelebi. Translation edited with notes. Glasgow: The Civic Press, 1937.

FLEMING, J. R.
The highway of praise; an introduction to Christian hymnody. 143 p, 8°. London: Oxford University Press.

GALPIN, FRANCIS WILLIAM
A textbook of European musical instruments. Their origin, history and character. 256 p, 8°. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1937.

GILBERT, HAROLD WELLS, and HERBERT BOYCE SATCHER, compilers
A list of service music and anthems. 28 p, 8°. Philadelphia, Pa.: Published by the Commission on Music of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, 1937.

GRACE, HARVEY
Choral training and conducting. London: Novello & Co., Ltd.

HAMILTON, MARY NEAL
Music in eighteenth century Spain. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2) 283 p, 8°. Urbana, Ill.: The University of Illinois, 1937.

HARDY, T. MASKELL
Practical suggestions for the teaching of vocal music in schools. For the infants, junior, and senior, or secondary schools. Part II: The junior school; Part III: The senior or secondary school. 2 vol, 12°. London: J. Curwen & Sons, Ltd., 1937.

HARTOG, PHILIP, and GLADYS ROBERTS
A conspectus of examinations in Great Britain and northern Ireland. 182 p, 8°. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

HOWARD, JOHN TASKER, and ELEANOR S. BOWEN
Music associated with the period of the formation of the constitution and the inauguration of George Washington. With a preface by Hon. Sol Bloom. 35 p, 4°. Washington, D. C.: United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, 1937.

HOWES, FRANK STEWART

The dramatic works of Ralph Vaughan Williams. ("The Musical Pilgrim" series) 108 p, 16°. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

The later works of R. Vaughan Williams. ("The Musical Pilgrim" series) 84 p, 16°. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

JACKSON, GEORGE PULLEN

Spiritual folk-songs of early America, compiled and edited. 250 tunes and texts with an introduction and comparative-melodic notes. 300 p, 8°. New York: J. J. Augustin.

JAROSY, ALBERT

All change here; an eccentric biography. 304 p, 8°. London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd.

JONES, HOWARD MUMFORD

The harp that once; a chronicle of the life of Thomas Moore. xvi, 365 p, 8°. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937.

JOSEF HOLBROOKE

Various appreciations by many authors. 188 p. London: Rudall Carte & Co., 1937.

KRACAUER, S.

Offenbach and the Paris of his time. vii, 351 p, 8°. London: Constable, 1937.

LA VIOLETTE, WESLEY

Music and its makers; the story of musical expression. (University of Knowledge. Glenn Frank, editor-in-chief) 384 p, 8°. Chicago: University of Knowledge, Inc., 1938.

LLOYD, LL. S.

Music and sound. With a foreword by William Bragg. 181 p, 8°. London: Oxford University Press.

MCCUTCHAN, ROBERT GUY

Our hymnody; a manual of the Methodist hymnal. With an index of scriptural texts. 619 p, 8°. New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1937.

MEIER, NELLIE SIMMONS

Lions' paws; the story of famous hands. Preface by Dr. William Benham, introduction by Meredith Nicholson. 160 p, 8°. New York: Barrows Mussey, 1937. [Includes musicians]

MÜLLER-FREIENFELS, RICHARD

The German, his psychology & culture; an inquiry into folk character. Translated by Rolf Hoffmann. xvi, 243 p, 8°. Los Angeles: The New Symposium Press, 1936.

OREM, PRESTON WARE

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QUARTERLY RECORD-LIST



PREPARED BY PHILIP MILLER

BACH, JOHANN SEBASTIAN

(See also *Beethoven* and *Visée*)

Chaconne, D minor (Arr. Busoni). E. V. Wolff, pf. Columbia set X-91.

Concerto, two violins, D minor. Szigeti, vln; Flesch, vln; orch. con. Goehr. Columbia set X-90.

Fantasia, Clavier, A minor. Edwin Fischer, pf. Electrola DB 3287.

Matthäuspassion (sung in English). Harvard University Glee Club; Boston Sym. Orch; Vreeland, s; Meisle, c; Priebe, t; Lechner, bar; Falkner, bar. con. Koussevitzky. Victor sets M-411 and M-412.

Passacaglia and Fugue, C minor. Weinrich, o. Musicraft set 10.

Prelude and Fugue, C minor (Weimar); *Prelude and Fugue, E minor (Wedge)*; *Prelude and Fugue, C major (Leipzig)*; *Fugue, A minor (Weimar)*. Albert Schweitzer, o. Bach Organ Music Society, vol. III. English Columbia.

Prelude and Fugue, E minor (Peters, vol. 3, no. 2). Hans Bachem, o. Cologne Cathedral. Decca 20232.

Sonatas, flute and clavier: no. 1, B minor; *no. 2, E-flat major*; *no. 4, C major*. Barrère, fl; Pessl, hpschd. Victor set M-406.

Suite, clavier, English, no. 6, D minor. E. V. Wolff, hpschd. Musicraft set 12.

Toccata, clavier, D major; *Magnificat II* (Pachelbel). Landowska, hpschd. French Gramophone DB 5047-48.

Toccata and Fugue, organ, C major (Arr.). Alexander Borovsky, pf. Polydor 27344-45.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN

(See also *Brahms* and *Schubert*)

Concerto, triple, op. 56, C major. Richard Odnoposoff, vln; Stefan Auber, vlc; Angelica Morales, pf; Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Weingartner. English Columbia LX 671-75.

Fidelio: Abscheulicher, wo eilst du hin? Hilde Konetzni, s; orch. Telefunken E 2290.

Leonore Overture, no. 3. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Eugen Jochum. Telefunken E 2278-79.

Serenade, flute, violin and viola, op. 25, D major. Klinger Trio. Electrola EH 1073-75.

Sonata, horn and piano, op. 17, F major. Freiberg, hn; Pessl, pf. Columbia set X-86.

Sonatas, piano: op. 10, no. 1, C minor; *op. 10, no. 3, D major*; *op. 79, G major*. Artur Schnabel, pf. Beethoven Piano Sonata Society, vol. XII. English Gramophone.

Sonata, piano, op. 111, C minor; *Variations: Nel cor più non mi sento*. Elly Ney, pf. German Gramophone DB 4476-79.

Sonatas, violin and piano: op. 24, F major (Frühling); *op. 47, A major (Kreutzer)*. Simon Goldberg, vln; Lili Krauss, pf. Beethoven Violin Sonata Society, vol. 1. Decca 29026-32.

Sonatas, violin and piano: op. 30, no. 1, A major; *op. 96, G major*. Kreisler, vln; Rupp, pf. Beethoven Violin Sonata Society, vol. IV. English Gramophone DB 3296-3301.

Sonata, violoncello and piano, op. 69, A major; *Reverse: Andantino and Variations, F major (Weber)*. Feuermann, vlc; Hess, pf. Columbia set 312.

Symphony, no. 1, C major, op. 21. Philadelphia Orch. con. Ormandy. Victor set M-409.

Symphony, no. 1, C major, op. 21. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Weingartner. English Columbia LX 677-79.

Symphony, no. 3, E-flat major, op. 55 (Eroica). Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Eugen Jochum. Telefunken E 2311-16.

Symphony, no. 5, C minor, op. 67. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Furtwängler. English Gramophone DB 3328-32.

Symphony, no. 6, F major, op. 68 (Pastoral). B. B. C. Sym. Orch. con. Toscanini. Victor set M-417.

Symphony, no. 7, A major, op. 92. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Carl Schuricht. Reverse: *Das wohltemperirte Clavier: Prelude and Fugue, C-sharp major*. Wilhelm Kempff, pf. Polydor 67162-66.

THE BELGIAN CONGO RECORDS

Choral, Dance and Ceremonial music. Recorded in the Congo by the Denis-Roosevelt Expedition. Reeves set.

BLOCH, ERNEST

Sonata, violin and piano. Harold Berkley, vln; Marion Kahn Berkley, pf. Gamut set 3.

BOCCHERINI, LUIGI

Quartet, strings, op. 6, no. 1. Poltronieri Quartet. Italian Columbia GQX 10877-78.

BORI, LUCREZIA

Operatic arias: Mozart: *Le Nozze di Figaro; Giunse alfin il momento; Don Giovanni; Batti, batti, o bel Masetto; Don Giovanni; Vedrai, carino.* Falla: *La Vida breve: Aria de Salud.* Puccini: *La Rondine: Ore dolci e divine.* Wolf-Ferrari: *Il Segreto di Susanna: O gioia, la nube leggera.* Massenet: *Manon; Adieu, notre petite table; Manon: Obéissons quand leur voix appelle.* orch. con. Frank Black. Victor set M-405.

BORODIN, ALEXANDER

Prince Igor: Overture. E.I.A.R. Sym. Orch. con. Daniele Amfitheatrof. Decca 25822.

BRAHMS, JOHANNES

(See also *Lehmann, Reger and Schubert*) *Romance, op. 118, no. 5, F major.* Reverse: *Au bord d'une source* (Liszt). Eileen Joyce, pf. English Parlophone E 11340.

Sonata, clarinet and piano, op. 120, no. 2, E-flat. Frederick Thurston, clar; Meyers Foggin, pf. Decca 25722-24.

Sonata, piano, op. 2, F-sharp minor. Arthur Loesser, pf. Friends of Recorded Music 15-17.

Tragische Ouverture, op. 81. Reverse: *Le Nozze di Figaro: Overture* (Mozart). London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. Columbia set X-85.

Tragische Ouverture, op. 81. Reverse: *Symphony no. 1: Minuet* (Beethoven). B. B. C. Sym. Orch. con. Toscanini. Electrola DB 3349-50.

Zigeunerlieder, op. 103. The Madrigal Singers; D. Everett Roudebush, pf. con. Lehman Engel. Columbia set X-88.

Zigeunerlieder, op. 103; An die Nachtigall, op. 46, no. 4. Nancy Evans, m-s; Meyers Foggin, pf. Decca 25719-20.

BRUCKNER, ANTON

Overture in G minor. Reverse: *Ruslan and Ludmila: Overture* (Glinka). Queen's Hall Orch. con. Wood. English Decca X 192-93.

BURONI, FERRUCCIO

Indianisches Tagebuch. Egon Petri, pf. Columbia 69010-D.

BYRD, WILLIAM

The Earl of Salisbury, Pavan and Galliard. Arnold Dolmetsch, clavichord. Reverse: *The Four note pavan* (Ferrabosco). Arnold, Mabel, Cécile, Nathalie and Carl Dolmetsch, viols. Dolmetsch Record 4.

CACCINI, FRANCESCA

Dispiegate, guancie amate. Reverse: *Amor dormiglione* (Strozzi). Yvon le Marc-Hadour, t; Ruggero Gerlin, hpschd. Pathé PG 86.

CACCINI, GIULIO

Amarilli, mia bella. Reverse: *Quella fiamma che m'accende* (Marcello). Georges Thill, t; Maurice Faure, pf. French Columbia.

CASTELNUOVO-TEDESCO, MARIO

Vivo e energico. Reverse: *Quartet, op. 12, E-flat major: Canzonetta* (Mendelssohn-Arr. Segovia). Andrés Segovia, guitar. French Gramophone DB 3243.

CATALANI, ALFREDO

Loreley: Walzer dei Fiori; La Wally: Walzer del Bacio. Milan Sym. Orch. con. Lorenzo Molajoli. Columbia 69102-D.

CHABRIER, EMMANUEL

Bourée fantasque (Arr. Motl). Orchestre Symphonique, Paris. con. Meyrowitz. Columbia 17108-D.

España Rhapsody. Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Fiedler. Victor 4375.

Pièces pittoresques: no. 4, Sous-bois; no. 6, Idylle. Lazare-Lévy, pf. French Gramophone DB 5049.

CHOPIN, FRÉDÉRIC (See also *Grieg*)

Concerto, piano, no. 1, op. 11, E minor. Arthur Rubinstein, pf; London Sym. Orch. con. Barbirolli. Victor set M-418.

Etudes, op. 10: no. 1, C major; no. 11, E-flat major; no. 2, A minor; no. 9, F minor; no. 7, C major. E. Kilenyi, pf. Pathé PAT 105.

Etudes, op. 10: no. 5, G-flat major; no. 6, E-flat minor; no. 7, C major; no. 8, F major. Anatole Kitain, pf. English Columbia DX 802.

Nocturne, op. 27, C-sharp minor. Reverse: *Lieder ohne Worte*: no. 22, F major; no. 47, A major (Mendelssohn). William Murdoch, pf. Decca 25729.

Nocturne, op. 62, no. 2, E major. Reverse: *Préludes*: no. 17, *Bruyères*; no. 18, *General Lavine-Eccentric* (Debussy). Ania Dorfmann, pf. English Columbia DX 803.

Polonaise, op. 53, A-flat major. Raoul Koczalski, pf. German Gramophone DA 4431. *Prelude*, op. 28, no. 16, B-flat major; *Etudes*, op. 25: no. 4, A minor; no. 2, F minor; *Etude*, op. 10, no. 4, C-sharp minor. E. Kilenyi, pf. Pathé PG 93.

Scherzo, op. 31, B-flat minor. Marguerite Long, pf. French Columbia LFX 513.

Scherzo, op. 31, B-flat minor. Raoul Koczalski, pf. German Gramophone DB 4474.

Scherzo, op. 54, E major. Vladimir Horowitz, pf. Victor 14634.

Sonata, piano, op. 35, B-flat minor; *Mazurka*, op. 7, no. 2, A minor. E. Kilenyi, pf. Pathé PAT 80-82.

Tarantelle, op. 43. Reverse: *La Plus que lente* (Debussy). Ania Dorfmann, pf. English Columbia DB 1724.

Waltz, op. 42, A-flat major; *Impromptu*, op. 29, A-flat major. Ania Dorfmann, pf. English Columbia DX 818.

Waltz, op. 42, A-flat major; *Mazurka*, op. 63, no. 3, C-sharp minor. E. Kilenyi, pf. Pathé PG 92.

CLEMENTI, MUZIO

Sonata, op. 50, no. 3 (*Scena tragica*). Arthur Loesser, pf. Friends of Recorded Music 13-14.

Sonatina, op. 36, no. 2, G major; *Sonatina*, op. 36, no. 1, C major; *Sonatina*, op. 36, no. 3, C major. Hazel Griggs, pf. Gamut 5000.

CORNELIUS, PETER

Der Barbier von Bagdad: O holdes Bild in Engelschöne. Ilonka Roswaenge, s; Helge Roswaenge, t; orch. Reverse: *La Traviata: Dei miei bollenti spiriti* (German) (Verdi). Helge Roswaenge, t; orch. German Gramophone DB 4493.

DARGOMYZHSKI, ALEXANDER

Roussalka: Danses slaves et tziganes. London Phil. Orch. con. Dorati. English Columbia DX 804.

DEBUSSY, CLAUDE (See also *Chopin* and *Fauré*) *Images*, set 2, no. 2, *Et la lune descend sur le temple qui fut*; *Préludes*: no. 22, *Canope*; no. 21, *Homage à S. Pickwick, Esq.* Iska Aribi, pf. Treasury of Music T 15.

DONIZETTI, GAETANO (See *Mozart*)

DOWLAND, JOHN (See also *Lawes*)

Come, heavy sleep. Reverse: *Fair Phyllis* (Farmer). Stockholm Madrigal Choir (in English). con. Saul. Decca 20239.

Pavans, Galliards and Almands, for lute and strings. Suzanne Bloch, lute; N. Y. Simponietta, con. Goberman. Timely 1301.

DVOŘÁK, ANTONIN

Carneval Overture, op. 92. Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Fiedler. Victor 12159.

Concerto, violoncello, op. 104, B minor. Casals, vlc; Czech Phil. Orch. German Gramophone DB 3288.

Symphony, no. 5, op. 95, E minor (*From the New World*). Czech Phil. Orch. con. Szell. English Gramophone C 2949-53.

Trio, strings, op. 65, F minor. Budapest Trio. Decca 25732-35.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SYMPHONIES

Locatelli: *Concerto grosso*, op. 1, no. 2. Pergolesi: *Concertino*, F minor. K. Stamitz: *Quartet for orchestra*, F major. N. Y. Simponietta, con. Max Goberman. Timely set 2.

ELGAR, SIR EDWARD

Enigma Variations, op. 36. Reverse: *Solomon: Overture* (Handel). Queen's Hall Orch. con. Wood. Decca 25739-42.

FALLA, MANUEL DE (See *Bori*)

FARMER, JOHN (See *Dowland*)

FAURÉ, GABRIEL

Après un rêve, op. 7, no. 1; *Automne*, op. 18, no. 3. Charles Panzéra, bar; Madeleine Panzéra-Baillot, pf. French Gramophone DA 4911.

Les Berceaux, op. 23, no. 1; *Chanson du pêcheur*, op. 4, no. 1. Charles Panzéra, bar; Madeleine Panzéra-Baillot, pf. French Gramophone DA 4909.

En prière. Reverse: *Noël* (Holmés). Janine Micheau, s; orch. con. Cariven. French Columbia DF 2260.

Extase; Aurore, op. 39, no. 1. Charles Panzéra, bar; Madeleine Panzéra-Baillot, pf. French Gramophone DA 4913.

Pénélope: Vous n'avez fait qu'éveiller. Reverse: *Pelléas et Mélisande: Voici ce qu'il a écrit* (Debussy). Germaine Cernay, m-s; orch. Decca 25815.

Poème d'un jour: Rencontre; Toujours; Adieu. Fleur jetée. Georges Thill, t; Maurice Faure, pf. French Columbia LF 157.

Soir; Nocturne. Charles Panzéra, bar; Madeleine Panzéra-Baillot, pf. French Gramophone DA 4905.

FERRABOSCO, ALFONSO (See *Byrd*)

FRANCK, CÉSAR

Sonata, violin and piano. Heifetz, vln; Arthur Rubinstein, pf. English Gramophone DB 3206-8.

FRANZ, ROBERT (See *Lehmann*)

GLINKA, MICHAEL (See *Bruckner*)

GRAENER, PAUL

Der alte Herr. Reverse: *Traum durch die Dämmerung, op. 29, no. 1* (Strauss). Paul Bender, bass. Electrola EG 6107.

GRIEG, EDWARD

Concerto, piano, op. 16, A minor. Walter Gieseking, pf; Berlin St. Op. Orch. con. Hans Rosbaud. *An der Wiege, op. 68, no. 5; Französische Serenade, op. 62, no. 3.* Walter Gieseking, pf. Columbia set 313.

Norwegian Bridal Procession, op. 19, no. 2. Edward Grieg, pf. (recorded from 1906 Welte-Mignon roll). Reverse: *Etude, op. 10, no. 8, F major* (Chopin). Clothilde Kleberg, pf. (from 1905 Welte-Mignon roll). Decca 20230.

Peer Gynt: Suite no. 1. London Phil. Orch. con. Goossens. English Gramophone C 2933-34.

Wedding day at Troldhaugen, op. 65, no. 6. Fridtjof Backer-Grøndahl, pf. Norwegian Columbia GN 410.

HAGEMAN, RICHARD (See *Warlock*)

HAHN, REYNALDO

Concerto, piano, no. 1, E major. Magda Tagliafero, pf; orch. con. Hahn. Pathé PAT 86-88.

HANDEL, G. F. (See also *Elgar*)

Sonata, trio, op. 2, no. 2, G minor: Andante. Reverse: *Sonata, trio, no. 5; Grave and Allegro* (Sammartini). Heinz Stopkar, recorder; Hans Krüger, recorder; Georg Seegers,

vic; Margarete Riedel, hpschd. German Gramophone EG 3976.

HARRIS, ROY

Symphony for voices on poems of Walt Whitman. Westminster Choir. con. Williamson. Victor set M-427.

HARRISON, JULIUS (See *Holst*)

HAYDN, JOSEPH

Concerto, harpsichord, op. 21, D major; *Minuet, C-sharp minor; Ballo Tedesco.* Landowska, hpschd; orch. con. Bigot. French Gramophone DB 3293-95.

Symphony, no. 96, D major. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Walter. English Gramophone DB 3282-84.

Variations, F minor. Lili Krauss, pf. English Parlophone R 20347-48.

Variations, F minor. Paderewski, pf. Victor 14727.

HOLMÉS, AUGUSTA (See *Fauré*)

HOLST, GUSTAV

Diverus and Lazarus. Reverse: *God rest you merry, gentlemen* (Anon.). Decca Choir. con. Arnold Goldsborough. Decca 20215.

Marching Song (Song without Words, op. 22, no. 2). Reverse: *Romance: A song of adoration* (Harrison). Hastings Phil. Orch. con. Julius Harrison. Decca 25714.

JENSEN, ADOLF (See *Lehmann*)

LALO, EDOUARD

Le Roi d'Ys: Vainement, ma bien aimée. Reverse: *Manon: Le Rêve de Des Grieux* (Massenet). Tino Rossi, t; orch. Columbia 4185-M.

LAWES, HENRY

The Primrose. Cécile Dolmetsch, s; Diana Poulton, lute; Marie Dolmetsch, viol. Reverse: *King of Denmark's Galliard* (Downland). Diana Poulton, lute. Dolmetsch record 7.

Anacreon's Ode to the Lute. Artemy Raevsky, bass; Arnold Dolmetsch, hpschd. Reverse: *The Bashful Thames* (Purcell). Cécile Dolmetsch, s; Carl Dolmetsch, recorder; Mabel Dolmetsch, recorder; Nathalie Dolmetsch, viola da gamba; Arnold Dolmetsch, hpschd. Dolmetsch record 6.

LEHMANN, LOTTE

Song Recital no. 2: Schubert: Gretchen am Spinnrade; Wiegendlied. Brahms: Das Mäd-

chen spricht; Mein Mädel hat einen Rosenmund; Botschaft. Marx: Selige Nacht. Pfitzner: Gretel. Schumann: Du bist wie eine Blume; Frühlingsnacht; Alte Lauten. Wolf: Der Gärtner; Du denkst mit einem Fädelchen; Storchenbotschaft. Franz: Für Musik; Gute Nacht. Jensen: Lehn' deine Wang'. Erno Balogh, pf. Victor set M-419.

LISZT, FRANZ (See also Brahms and Schubert) *Die drei Zigeuner; O komm im Traum. Schlusnus, bar; Peschko, pf. Polydor 35088. Légende, no. 2: St. François de Paule marchant sur les flots. Cortot, pf. German Gramophone DB 3269. Rapsodie hongroise, no. 3; no. 7. Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 566.182. Rapsodie hongroise, no. 5. Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 561.118. Rapsodie hongroise, no. 8. Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 561.116. Rapsodie hongroise, no. 9. Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 566.185. Rapsodie hongroise, no. 10; no. 11. Borovsky, pf. French Polydor 566.184. Rigoletto: Paraphrase de Concert (after Verdi). Egon Petri, pf. Columbia 17101-D. Todtentanz. Kilenyi, pf; Orchestre Symphonique, Paris. con. Meyrowitz. English Columbia LX 685-86.*

LOCATELLI, PIETRO
(See Eighteenth Century Symphonies)

LOEWE, KARL (See also Schumann) *Archibald Douglas. Hüsch, bar; Rauchisen, pf. Decca 25755. Des fremden Kindes heil'ger Christ. Reverse: Weihnachtsgesang (Adam). Electrola DA 4426. Der Erlkönig; Prinz Eugen. Bohnen, bass; Szell, pf. Decca 25756. Tom der Reimer; Süßes Begräbnis. Hüsch, bar; pf. English Parlophone E 11336.*

MARAI, MARIN *Deux Musettes, A minor. Mabel Dolmetsch, viola da gamba; Nathalie Dolmetsch, viola da gamba; Arnold Dolmetsch, hpschd. Reverse: The Carman's whistle, with divisions for two recorders; Fortune my foe, for three recorders; Boree, for four recorders (Recorder Consorts). Carl Dolmetsch; Marie Dolmetsch; Robert Goble; Harley Glegg. Dolmetsch record 5.*

MARCELLO, BENEDETTO (See Caccini)

MARX, JOSEPH (See also Lehmann and Reger) *Japanisches Regenlied; Windräder. Luise Willer, c; Carl Bergner, pf. Polydor 62774.*

MASSENET, JULES (See Bori and Lalo)

MCBRIDE, ROBERT

Fugato on a well-known theme. Reverse: Soviet Iron Foundry (Mossolow). Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Fiedler. Victor 4378.

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX

(See also Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Chopin) *Gruss (Leise zieht durch mein Gemüth); Und der Hans schleicht umher (Folksong). Reverse: Zwischen Berg und tiefem Tal; Seh' ich dich, mein Herzensliebchen (Folksongs). Ernst Wolff, bar; pf. acc. by himself. Columbia 4186-M.*

Minnelied, op. 47, no. 1; Neue Liebe, op. 19, no. 4; Nachtlied, op. 71, no. 6. Ernst Wolff, bar; pf. acc. by himself. Columbia 4177-M.

MEYERBEER, GIACOMO

L'Africaine: O paradisol Reverse: La Gioconda: Cielo e mar (Ponchielli). Jussi Björling, t; orch. con. Nils Grevillius. Victor 12150.

MILHAUD, DARIUS

Opéras-Minutes: L'Abandon d'Ariane; La Délivrance de Thésée; L'Enlèvement d'Europe. Ensemble "Pro Musica"; orch. con. Milhaud. Columbia set 309.

MOSCOLOW, ALEXANDER (See McBride)

MOZART, W. A.

(See also Bori, Brahms and Strauss, R.) *Concerto, piano, K.466, D minor. Bruno Walter, pf; Vienna Phil. Orch. Victor set M-420.*

Concerto, piano, K.467, C major. Artur Schnabel, pf; London Sym. Orch. con. Sargent. English Gramophone DB 3099-3102.

Concerto, piano, K.491, C minor. Edwin Fischer, pf; London Phil. Orch. con. Collingwood. English Gramophone DB 3339-42. Eine kleine Nachtmusik, K.525. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Furtwängler. Adagio, K.261, E major. Georg Kulenkampff, vln; Franz Rupp, pf. Polydor 67156-58.

Mass, K. 317 (Krönungsmesse): Agnus Dei. Reverse: Zur Trauerfeier (Schumann). Hedwig Jungkurt, s. German Gramophone EG 6058.

Quartet, strings, K.589, B-flat major. Kolisch Quartet. Victor set M-407.

Rondo, violin, K.373, C major. Jean Pougnet, vln; Sym. orch. con. G. Walter. English Columbia DX 769.

Sinfonia Concertante, K.297b (new), E-flat major. Venzke, oboe; Burkner, clar; Ziller, horn; Rothensteiner, bassoon; Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Hidekaro Konoye. English Columbia LX 661-64.

Sonata, piano: K.282, E-flat major; K.283, G major. Kathleen Long, pf. Musicraft set 1058-60.

Sonata, two pianos, K.448, D major. Jean Wiéner; Clement Doucet, pfs. Pathé PAT 94.

Sonata, violoncello and bassoon, K.292, B-flat. Joseph Schuster, vlc; Benjamin Kohon, bsn. Victor 12149.

Symphony, K.318 (Overture in the Italian style). Berlin Phil. Orch. Hans von Benda. Telefunken E 2317.

Symphony, K.550, G minor. London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. Columbia set 316.

Variations on a theme by Gluck, "Unser dumme Pöbel," K.455; Minuet, K.355, D major; Gigue, K.574, G major. Kathleen Long, pf. Musicraft 1051-52.

MUSORGSKY, MODESTE

Boris Godounow: I have attained the highest power; Farewell, my son, I am dying. Georges Baklanoff, bar; orch. Decca 25813.

Song Society: Gopak; Yeremushka's Cradle Song; To the Dnieper; The Star; Gathering Mushrooms; The Orphan; The Fair at Sorotchinski; Reverie of the Young Peasant; Songs and Dances of Death (Trepak; Death's Lullaby; Death's Serenade; Field Marshall Death); The Goat; Ballade; Savitskaya. Vladimir Rosing, t; Meyers Foggin, pf. Decca 29020-25.

Songs: Sunless (Within Four Walls; In the Throng; The Idle Noisy Day Is Over; Bored; Elegy; Over the River); Pride; Ballade; King Saul. Moshe Rudinow, bar; Esther Elkin, pf. Gamut set 4.

Songs and Dances of Death: No. 3, Death's Serenade; No. 4, Field Marshall Death. Antoinette Tikanova, c; orch. con. Gaston Poulet. Decca 25718.

PACHELBEL, JOHANN (See Bach)

PERGOLESI, G. B.

(See Eighteenth Century Symphonies)

PFITZNER, HANS (See Lehmann)

PIERNÉ, GABRIEL (See also Boellmann)

Trois Pièces en trio pour violon, alto et violoncelle: Dedicace sur les noms de Jean, Pierre et Étienne Pasquier; Chanson; Les Trois clercs de Saint-Nicolas. Pasquier Trio. Pathé PAT 90-91.

PONCHIELLI, AMILCAR (See Meyerbeer)

PROKOFIEV, SERGE

Prelude, op. 12, no. 7, C major. Reverse: *Pelléas and Mélisande: Pastorale, op. 46, no. 5* (Sibelius). Mildred Dilling, harp. Columbia 17107-D.

PUCCINI, GIACOMO (See also Bori)

La Fanciulla del West: Ch'ella mi creda; Tosca: E lucevan le stelle. Jussi Björling, t; orch. English Gramophone DA 1584.

PURCELL, HENRY (See also Lawes)

The English Music Society, Vol. 1: Four-part Fantasias for strings, nos. 1-9; Five-part Fantasia upon one note; Sonata, two violins and figured bass, F major (The Golden Sonata). Songs: *If Music be the Food of Love; The Aspiration: I love and I must; Two Catches: I gave her cakes and I gave her ale; To thee, to thee, and to a maid.* International String Quartet; Isolde Menges, vln; William Primrose, vln; Keith Falkner, bar; Ambrose Gauntlett, viola da gamba; John Tiechurst, hpschd; The Purcell Singers. Columbia set 315.

RACHMANINOFF, SERGE

Concerto, piano, no. 2, op. 18, C minor. Moisévitch, pf; con. Goehr. English Gramophone C 7500-3.

Prelude, op. 23, no. 4, D major; Prelude, op. 23, no. 9, E-flat minor; Prelude, op. 23, no. 3, E major. Edith Walton, pf. English Parlophone E 11357.

RAVEL, MAURICE

Trois Chansons: Nicolette; Ronde; Trois beaux oiseaux de paradis. Les Chanteurs de Lyon. con. Leon Vietti. Columbia 9136-M.

REGER, MAX

Humoreske, op. 20, no. 4, C major; Gavotte, op. 82, no. 5, E major. Friedrich Wührer, pf. Electrola EG 6122.

Mariä Wiegenlied, op. 76, no. 52. Reverse: *Marienlied* (Marx). Erna Sack, s; Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Schultze. Telefunken AK 2157.

Waldeinsamkeit, op. 76, no. 3; *Zum Schlafen*, op. 76, no. 59. Reverse: *Feldeinsamkeit*, op. 76, no. 59 (Brahms). Maria Müller, s; pf. Austrian Gramophone DB 3285.

RIMSKY-KORSAKOV, NICOLAI

Le Coq d'or: Bridal Cortège. Reverse: *Il Segreto di Susanna: Overture* (Wolf-Ferrari). Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Fiedler. English Gramophone B 8633.

Scheherazade. London Phil. Orch. con. Dorati. English Gramophone C 2968-72.

ROSSINI, GIOACCHINO

Il Barbiere di Siviglia: Una voce poco fa. Erna Sack, s; con. Schütze. French Polydor 516.738.

Semiramide: Overture. Philharmonic-Symphony Orch., New York. con. Toscanini. Victor set M-408.

Tancredi: Overture. E.I.A.R. Sym. Orch., Turin. con. Parodi. English Parlophone E 11338.

SAINT-SAËNS, CAMILLE

Havaneise, op. 83. Jascha Heifetz, vln; London Sym. Orch. con. Barbirolli. English Gramophone DB 3211.

SANDBURG, CARL

The American Songbag: Gallows Song (My name it is Sam Hall); I ride an old paint; Foggy, foggy dew; The horse named Bill; I'm sad and I'm lonely; Woven spirituals; The good boy; Mama, have you heard the news? (Casey Jones). Musicraft set 11.

SCHUBERT, FRANZ

(See also Lehmann and Schumann)

Auf dem Wasser zu singen, op. 72. Reverse: *Egmont: Freudvoll und Leidvoll*, op. 84, no. 4 (Beethoven). Lilli Lehmann, s; pf. (Acoustic recording). German Odeon x 50094, x 50078.

Fantasia, op. 15, C major (*The Wanderer*) (Arr. Liszt). Clifford Curzon, pf; Queen's Hall Orch. con. Wood. English Decca X 185-87.

Gretchen am Spinnrade, op. 2; *Erlkönig*, op. 1. Marta Fuchs, s; pf. English Gramophone DB 3361.

Der Hirt auf dem Felsen, op. 129. Elisabeth Schumann, s; Reginald Kell, clar; George Reeves, pf. English Gramophone DB 3317.

Im Abendrot; *Die Liebe hat gelogen*, op. 23, no. 1; *Die Forelle*, op. 32. Ria Ginster, s; Gerald Moore, pf. English Gramophone. *Impromptu*, op. 90, no. 4, A-flat major; *Impromptu*, op. 90, no. 3, G major. Walter Rehberg, pf. Polydor 57090.

Lachen und Weinen, op. 59, no. 4; *Meine Liebe ist grün*, op. 63, no. 5 (Brahms); *Die Forelle*, op. 32. Kirsten Flagstad, s; Edwin McArthur, pf. English Gramophone DA 1586.

Moments musicaux, op. 94. Artur Schnabel, pf. English Gramophone DB 3358-60.

Quartet, strings, op. 161, G major. Strub Quartet. Electrola EH 1039-43.

Quartet, strings, posthumous, D minor (*Der Tod und das Mädchen*). Busch Quartet. English Gramophone DB 3037-40.

Die schöne Müllerin, op. 25. Ernst Wolff, bar; pf. acc. by himself. Columbia set 317.

Soirée de Vienne (Arr. Liszt). Moriz Rosenthal, pf. Victor 1854.

Sonata, piano, posthumous, A major. Artur Schnabel, pf. English Gramophone DB 3103-7.

Sonata, piano, posthumous, B-flat major. E. V. Wolff, pf. Columbia set 311.

Sonata, violoncello (Arpeggione), A minor. Pierre Fournier, vlc; Jean Hubeau, pf. French Gramophone L 1037-38.

Symphony, no. 8, B minor (*Unfinished*). London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. English Columbia LX 666-68.

Der Tod und das Mädchen, op. 7, no. 3; *Die Forelle*, op. 32. Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Victor 1862.

Trio-Sonata, B-flat (1812). Schulz-Fürstenberg-Trio. German Odeon 0-25952.

Vor meiner Wiege, op. 106, no. 3; *Der Jüngling und der Tod*. Karl Erb, t; pf. Electrola DB 4466.

Wanderers Nachtlied I: Der du von dem Himmel bist, op. 4, no. 3; *Wanderers Nachtlied II: Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh'*, op. 96, no. 3; *Der Doppelgänger (Schwanengesang*, no. 13). Paul Lohmann, bar; pf. Decca 20382.

SCHUMANN, ROBERT

(See also *Lehmann and Mozart*)

Die beiden Grenadiere, op. 49, no. 1. Reverse: *Heinrich der Vogler*, op. 56, no. 1 (Loewe). Gerhard Hüsch, bar; pf. German Odeon 0-25932.

Concerto, piano, op. 54, A minor. Myra Hess, pf; Sym. orch. con. Walter Goehr. English Gramophone C 2942-45.

Concerto, violin, D minor. Georg Kulenkampff, vln; Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Schmidt-Isserstedt. Telefunken E 2395-98.

Davidsbündlertänze, op. 6. Alfred Cortot, pf. French Gramophone DB 3263-65.

Kreisleriana, op. 16, nos. 6 and 8. Jean Françaix, pf. Telefunken E 2281.

Mondnacht, op. 39, no. 5. Reverse: *Der Musensohn*, op. 92, no. 1 (Schubert). Heinrich Schlusnus, bar; Sebastian Peschko, pf. Polydor 30029.

Der Nussbaum, op. 25, no. 3; *Mondnacht*, op. 39, no. 5. Erna Sack, s; Michael Rauch-eisen, pf. Telefunken A 2233.

SHAN-KAR, UDAY

Hindu music album. Uday Shan-Kar and his company of Hindu musicians. con. Vishnudass Shirali. Victor set M-382.

SHOSTAKOVICH, DMITRI

Two pieces for string octet: *Prelude*; *Scherzo*. N. Y. Sinfonietta. con. Max Goberman. Timely 1300.

SIBELIUS, JEAN (See also *Prokofiev*)

Finlandia, op. 26, no. 7. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Melichar. Polydor 57068.

Kuolema: *Valse triste*, op. 44; *The Tempest*; *Berceuse*, op. 109. Philadelphia Orch. con. Stokowski. Victor 14726.

Kuolema: *Valse triste*, op. 44. Queen's Hall Orch. con. Wood. Decca 20220.

Rakastava Suite, op. 14. The Boyd Neel Orch. con. Boyd Neel. Decca 25730-31.

Symphony, no. 4, op. 63, A minor; *Legends*, op. 22; No. 4, *The Return of Lemmin-käinen*; *The Tempest*: *Incidental music*. London Phil. orch. con. Beecham. Sibelius Society, Vol. V. English Gramophone.

SOLER, ANTONIO

Concerto, harpsichord and organ, G major (Arr. Nin). Ruggero Gerlin, hpschd; Noëlie Pierrott, o, music room of Mme. Henry Gouin, Paris. Pathé PAT 75.

STAMITZ, KARL

(See *Eighteenth Century Symphonies*)STRADELLO, ALESSANDRO (See *Verdi*)STRAUSS, RICHARD (See also *Graener*)

Allerseelen, op. 10, no. 8; *Zueignung*, op. 10, no. 1. Janssen, bar; pf. English Gramophone DA 1591.

Heimkehr, op. 15, no. 5; *Ständchen*, op. 17, no. 2. Schlusnus, bar; Peschko, pf. Polydor 30030.

Heimliche Aufforderung, op. 27, no. 3; *Zueignung*, op. 10, no. 1; *Cäcilie*, op. 27, no. 2. Melchior, t; Strasfogel, pf. Victor 1853.

Die Nacht, op. 10, no. 3; *Traum durch die Dämmerung*, op. 29, no. 1. Janssen, bar; Moore, pf. English Gramophone DA 1581.

Der Rosenkavalier: *Die Zeit, die ist ein sonderbar Ding*. Reverse: *Le Nozze di Figaro*: *Heil'ge Quelle* (Porgi amor) (Mozart). Lotte Lehmann, s; orch. Decca 25817.

STROZZI, BARBARA (See *Caccini, F.*)

SZYMANOWSKI, KAROL

Le Roi Roger: *Chant de Roxane* (Arr. Kochanski). Reverse: *La Vida breve*: *Danse Espagnole*. Jascha Heifetz, vln; Emanuel Bay, pf. Victor 14625.

Le Roi Roger: *Chant de Roxane*; *Romance*, op. 25, D major. Henri Temianska, vln; pf. Decca 25737.

TCHAIKOVSKY, PETER ILITCH

Capriccio italien, op. 45. Berlin St. Op. Orch. con. Heger. English Parlophone E 11345-46.

Concerto, piano, no. 1, op. 23, B-flat major. Egon Petri, pf; London Phil. Orch. con. Goehr. English Columbia LX 681-84.

Nutcracker Suite, op. 71a. London Phil. Orch. con. Goossens. English Gramophone C 2922-24.

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, RALPH

Symphony, F minor. B. B. C. Sym. con. Vaughan Williams. English Gramophone DB 3367-70.

VERDI, GIUSEPPE

(See also *Cornelius and Liszt*)

Ave Maria. Reverse: *Pieta, Signore!* (Stradella). Eidé Norena, s; orch. con. Messner. French Gramophone DB 5046.

Otello: Salce, Salcel; Ave Maria. Eidé Norena, s; orch. con. Ruhlmann. French Gramophone DB 5051.

VISÉE, ROBERT DE

Pièces anciennes du XV^e siècle: Menuets nos. 1 & 2; Bourée; Gavotte. Reverse: Courante (Bach). Ida Presti, guitar. French Gramophone K 7910.

VIVALDI, ANTONIO

Concerto, string orchestra, A minor. Reverse: Suite no. 3: Air (Bach). Concertgebouw Orch., Amsterdam. con. Mengelberg. Telefunken SK 2401-2.

WAGNER, RICHARD

Fünf Gedichte: Der Engel; Stehe still; Im Treibhaus; Schmerzen; Träume. Reverse: Am Grabe Anselmos, op. 6, no. 3 (Schubert). Tiana Lemnitz, s; Rauchisen, pf. Polydor 57084-85, 57028.

Fünf Gedichte: No. 5, Träume. Reverse: Schläfendes Jesukind (Wolf). John McCormack, t; orch. English Gramophone DB 2868.

Lohengrin: Elsas Traum; Euch Lüften, die mein Klagn. Tiana Lemnitz, s; orch. con. Schüler. Polydor 35081.

Die Meistersinger: Da zu dir der Heiland

kam; Wach' auf, es nahet gen den Tag; Morgenlich leuchtend. Torsten Ralf, t; Rudolf Boeckelmann, bar; etc. Royal Op. Cho; London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. Columbia set X-87.

Die Walküre: Ein Schwert verhiess mir der Vater; Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond. Franz Völker, t; Berlin St. Op. Orch. con. Schüler. Polydor 67142.

WARLOCK, PETER

Rest, sweet nymph; St. Anthony of Padua. Reverse: Do not go, my love (Hageman). Nancy Evans, m-s. English Decca K 866.

WOLF, HUGO (See also Lehmann and Wagner)

Hugo Wolf Society, Vol. VI: Neue Liebe; Storchenbotschaft; Mignon I; Mignon II. Marta Fuchs, s; pf. Tief im Herzen; Zur Ruh; Dereinst; Alle gingen, Herz, zur Ruh; Komm, o Tod. Herbert Janssen, bar; pf. Ach, im Maien war's; Herz, verzage nicht; An den Schlaf; Lebewohl. Karl Erb, t; pf. Der Feuerreiter; Gesellenlied. Helge Roswänge, t; pf. Wiegenlied (Im Sommer). Tiana Lemnitz, s; pf. English Gramophone. Verborgenheit; Wiegenlied. Margarete Teschemacher, s. Electrola EG 6153.

WOLF-FERRARI, ERMANNO

(See Bori and Rimsky-Korsakov)

